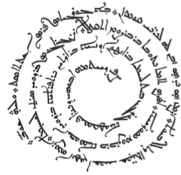


Tribe and State



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Tribe and State

The Dynamics of International Politics and the
Reign of Zimri-Lim

Adam E. Miglio



gorgias press

2014

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

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2014

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ISBN 978-1-4632-0249-1

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication
Data**

Miglio, Adam, 1977-

Tribe and state : the dynamics of
international politics and the reign of
Zimri-Lim / by Adam Miglio.

pages cm. -- (Gorgias studies in the
ancient Near East ; 8)

Includes bibliographical references and
index.

ISBN 978-1-4632-0249-1

1. Mari (Extinct city)--Foreign relations. 2.
Zimri-Lim, King of Mari, active 18th century
B.C. 3. Syria--Antiquities. I. Title.

DS99.M3M54 2013

939.4'32--dc23

2014018245

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	v
List of Tables, Maps and Illustrations	vii
Figures and Illustrations	vii
Tables	vii
Note on Dates and the Citation of Texts and Editions	ix
Symbols Used in Transcriptions	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Ancient Politics: Approaching History at Mari	1
The study of ancient politics	1
Chronology and sources at Mari	7
Reading the letters from Mari	10
Design of the current work	20
Politics, the State, and Society	23
Politics, authority, and the state	23
A working definition of the state	30
State and tribe	42
Conclusion	52
A Dynamic Socio-Political Landscape: “Mari and the Land of the Mobile Pastoralists”	55
Introduction	55
“King of Mari”	56
The genesis of a political tradition: the precursor to kingship at Mari	57
Kingship at Mari and the central Euphrates River Valley	61
The central Euphrates Valley and Zimri-Lim’s state	68
Zimri-Lim and his mobile pastoralists (<i>banûm</i>)	70
The tribes of Zimri-Lim’s reign	75
Tribal solidarity, mobile pastoralism, and the construction of territoriality	76

“King of... the land of the mobile pastoralists” (<i>ḫanûm</i>).....	81
The politics of ‘enclosing nomadism’ and sedentary-mobile pastoralist interactions	85
Simal mobile pastoralists’ interactions along the central Euphrates.....	91
Simal mobile pastoralists’ interactions with populations in the upper Jezira	95
Simal’s interactions with mobile pastoralists in the land of Apum.....	99
Conclusion.....	107
Zimri-Lim’s Conduct of International Politics.....	109
Introduction	109
The ‘system’ of international relations during Zimri-Lim’s reign	111
Zimri-Lim and international relations with kings in the Habur.....	118
Zimri-Lim’s relations with Kabiya of Kahat	120
Zimri-Lim’s relations with Ibal-Addu, Shadum- Adal and Adal-shenni.....	128
Inter-tribal politics and <i>ḫipšum</i>	142
Simal-Yamina relations and the two Yamina revolts.....	156
Simal, Numha, and Yamut-bal relations during the first Yamina revolt and the beginning of the second Yamina revolt	159
Conclusion.....	184
The Beginning of the End: Zimri-Lim’s War with Elam.....	187
The beginning or the end?	187
Ethnicity, nationalism, and the Amurrite ‘problem’	189
Reinterpreting Zimri-Lim’s war with Elam.....	197
Simal Tribal networks and the war with Elam.....	198
The beginning of the end: the outcome of the events in the upper Jezira.....	219
A concluding proposal: the end of Mari and the looting of the ‘archives’ at Mari	228
Conclusion.....	235
Bibliography	241
Index.....	265

LIST OF TABLES, MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of Syro-Mesopotamia	Fig 1.1
Relative statuses within the system of international relations	Fig 4.1

TABLES

Sampling of letter-types attested in the 'archives' of Mari.....	Table 1.1
Selected events concerning Kahat and Ashlakka	Table 4.1
Selected events inter-tribal relations (ZL 0–6).....	Table 4.2

NOTE ON DATES AND THE CITATION OF TEXTS AND EDITIONS

The dating conventions for referring to the thirteen-year reign of Zimri-Lim (e.g. ZL 0–13) follow that of Dominique Charpin and Nele Ziegler in *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: essai d'histoire politique. Florilegium Marianum V*. Paris: SEPOA, 2003.

The citation of cuneiform texts, editions and collations follows the system in the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CAD), with the exceptions below and use of italics:

ARM 1–30 = *Archives royales de Mari*, 1–31. Paris, 1950–Present.

FM 1 = *Florilegium Marianum I: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Michel Fleury*, edited by D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, and F. Joannès, Paris: SEPOA, 1992.

FM 2 = *Florilegium Marianum II: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot*, edited by D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1994.

FM 3 = *Florilegium Marianum III: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet*, edited by D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand. Paris: SEPOA, 1997.

FM 4 = *Florilegium Marianum VI: Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'Andre Parrot*, edited by D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand. Paris: SEPOA, 2002.

FM 5 = Charpin, Dominique and Nele Ziegler. *Florilegium Marianum V: Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: essai d'histoire politique*. Paris: SEPOA, 2003.

FM 6 = *Florilegium Marianum VI: Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'Andre Parrot*, edited by D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand. Paris: SEPOA, 2002.

FM 7 = Durand, Jean-Marie. *Florilegium Marianum VII: Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alabtum*, Paris: SEPOA, 2002.

- FM 8 = Durand, Jean-Marie. *Florilegium Marianum VIII: Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*. Paris: SEPOA, 2005.
- FM 10 = Marti, Lionel. *Nomades et sédentaires à Mari: la perception de la taxe-sugâgûtum*. *Florilegium Marianum X*. Paris: SEPOA, 2008.
- LAPO = Durand, Jean-Marie. *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*. *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, 16–18. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997, 1998, 2000.
- OBTR = Dalley, Stephanie, C.B.F. Walker, and David Oates. *The Old Babylonian Tablets From Tell al-Rimah*. Hertford: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976.
- RIMA 1 = Grayson, Kirk A. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1150 BC)*. *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods*, vol 1. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- RIME 4 = Frayne, Douglas R. *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595)*. *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods*, vol 4. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

In cases where the commentary that accompanies cuneiform documents is cited, the bibliographic abbreviations follow the guidelines found in the Chicago Manual of Style and the complete bibliographic information for these citations may be found in the Bibliography.

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS

The translations of Akkadian proper names are transcribed into Latin characters in the main body of the monograph. Akkadian words that are discussed in the body of the monograph as well as transcriptions of tablets provided in footnotes are italicized and transcribed following standard Assyriological practices and using the following symbols:

[...] or []	Broken portion of a text
≠ ±	Partially preserved text
{ }	Ancient erasure
¥	Correction or alteration made to a sign
< >	Emended text, whereby the sign within the brackets is not represented in the text but is added as a matter of interpretation
Σ	Uncertain reading
x	Illegible traces
**	Signs once visible (to a previous epigrapher) that have become indiscernible
()	Elements added to clarify translation
◦	Graphic variant

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was the chance discovery of a cuneiform-inscribed statue by local Bedouin that led the French archaeologist André Parrot to leave Paris in the late autumn of 1933. The statue had been recovered from the ruins of tell Hariri, located just over seven miles north of the border between modern-day Syria and Iraq. Without delay, the first season of excavation was conducted during the winter of 1933–34. By early in the year of 1934 Parrot had confirmed the identification of the ruins of tell Hariri with the ancient capital city known as Mari. The rich finds from Mari encouraged Parrot to excavate the site until 1974, a total of twenty-one seasons. In 1979 the French resumed their investigation of the ancient city of Mari under the directorship of Jean-Claude Margueron, who led another twenty seasons of excavation.

The work at Mari has uncovered a wealth of materials, both anepigraphic and epigraphic, that furnish historians with one of the best documented political centers from the ancient Near East. It is the aim of this study to examine the Old Babylonian or Middle Bronze Age remains with particular attention to the textual data that document the final thirteen and a half years of the city when it was ruled by the king Zimri-Lim (c. 1775–1762 BCE). It is necessary to introduce a project involving the copious sources from Mari with a remark about the fast-paced, energetic research on this material over the past quarter of a century. The study of Mari has been placed on sure footing by *l'équipe* assembled at the end of the 1980s by Jean-Marie Durand of the Collège de France. The Assyriologists who have invested the last twenty-five years studying the cuneiform tablets recovered from Mari have not only rapidly published these sources, making them available to interested scholars, but they have also woven a sophisticated and fascinating historiography around these sources. As a result, any effort to study the vivid letters and copious administrative texts from Mari, including my

own, must attempt to work with the many publications that have and continue to be produced by these scholars. As a result, the influence of the voluminous and erudite publications of the *‘l’équipe de Mari’* will be visible throughout as I have drawn upon and cited, when appropriate, the vast secondary literature available on the tablets from Mari.

As for my own serendipitous discovery of Mari, it came while I was in graduate school at The University of Chicago. In graduate school I focused on ancient history, a discipline rooted in both philology and archaeology. My enjoyment of ancient history’s idiosyncratic richness ultimately compelled me to investigate the records from Mari. I was initially captivated by ancient letters through a series of Akkadian readings classes focused on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian letters, which was taught by Matthew W. Stolper. The genre of letters gripped me—their vivid language, candid reports, and the ways in which they contributed to the study of the Near East through their facility of intimate access to the lives of different individuals from Mesopotamia. This is certainly a hallmark of the letters from Mari, which I first read in an Akkadian class covering second-millennium historical texts. I quickly found myself fascinated by these sources, which Jack Sasson has aptly described as “... fairly long and incredibly garrulous, reporting dialogues, dispensing anecdotes, even spreading juicy gossip about the courts they ... visit[ed].”¹ They were delightful fodder for entering into the ‘foreign country’ of ancient history. The sources from Mari also captured my interests in no small part because of the high-resolution picture they projected of politics, even at the level of specific historical actors. Many of the details of a several-month time period—events as well as individuals’ careers—are often preserved with unusual clarity for being over three and a half millennia old.

The remarkable amount of historical information in the sources from Mari was interesting in its own right, but the rich and textured history at Mari allowed me to maintain my interest in political and social theory. In particular, I hoped that the corpus from Mari would be a means to consider how ideas from political sci-

¹ Sasson, “Mari and the Bible,” 108.

ence and social theory might be useful for reflecting on the micro-level history of ancient Syro-Mesopotamia. Henri Frankfort, in his essay "The Ancient Near East as an Historical Entity," was doubtful that ancient Near Eastern history could ever be practiced by anyone other than trained specialists (philologists and archaeologists). Yet, at the same time, he acknowledged the power of the historical narrative to,

[T]ease a man out of the satisfaction which the scholarly occupation with limited problems provides; to make him wish to see his chosen field in its wider, proper setting; and to induce him to compose, tentatively and with a full realization of his limitations, a history...²

The sources from Mari allowed me to do this, in some sense. They enticed me with the possibility of considering questions and problems in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia as they intersected with my curiosities and interests in other disciplines.

The present book is a revision of my dissertation. While writing it, my understanding of Mari, and its sources, has steadily developed, as has my thinking on matters in social and political theory. And as is the case with any work, it is a product of its time, not only the broader milieu in which it is written, but the personal and intellectual journey of the author. Throughout my time as a graduate student and in the years since, my interest in the sources from Mari has been influenced and encouraged by many additional teachers and colleagues along the way. In particular, I have benefited immensely from Daniel E. Fleming's generous conversations. He has been very helpful in guiding me through the rich sources and historiography associated with Mari. His honest interactions have made this a better work and his conduct was always a model of warm scholarly dialogue. I am especially appreciative of his support as well as his insights as I thought about the intersection of social and political history in the ancient Near East. Additionally, I appreciated the suggestions of Seth F. C. Richardson, who modeled the possibilities of integrating political theory with the study of the ancient world. Several other colleagues have also generously taken

² Frankfort, "The Ancient Near East as an Historical Entity," 199.

time to respond to portions of my work on the social and political world of Mari, especially Jacob Lauinger and Edward P. Stratford who were dialogue partners in the course of my graduate studies and have continued to interact with my work. They were especially helpful in commenting on chapter three, having read an early draft of it. Of course, it almost goes without saying that these scholars are in no way accountable for the mistakes or shortcomings of the present monograph, yet I owe a debt of gratitude to each of these individuals for contributing to my own intellectual journey through their collegial and engaged interactions.

More personally, I am grateful for the support of my parents in ways too numerous to recount. At the same time, my greatest debt is owed to Sarah Miglio. She has been untiringly supportive and unflinchingly invested in my career path over the past decade. Words cannot express my appreciation to her.

ANCIENT POLITICS: APPROACHING HISTORY AT MARI

Couché sur un lit superbe, au sommet d'un immense bûcher, Sardanapale donne l'ordre à ses eunuques et aux officiers du palais, d'égorger ses femmes, ses pages, jusqu'à ses chevaux et ses chiens favoris; aucun des objets qui avaient servi à ses plaisirs ne devait lui survivre... Aïscheh, femme bactrienne, ne voulut pas souffrir qu'un esclave lui donnât la mort, et se pendit elle-même aux colonnes qui supportaient la voûte... Ba-leah, échanton de Sardanapale, mit enfin le feu au bûcher et s'y précipita lui même.¹

THE STUDY OF ANCIENT POLITICS

Eugène Delacroix's painting entitled *La Mort de Sardanapale* (*The Death of Sardanapalus*) portrays the Syro-Mesopotamian² monarch while his city is under siege and certain to be captured.³ What is striking about this painting is that even though the king has resigned himself to defeat, he still possesses the power to have his servants and concubines killed at his command. One woman is bound, another held at knifepoint and one seemingly pleads for her

¹ The description of Eugène Delacroix's *La Mort de Sardanapale* as recorded in the Salon catalog in 1928 (quoted in Farwall, "Sources for Delacroix's Death of Sardanapalus," 68).

² The designation Syro-Mesopotamia refers to regions of Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon that were home to cuneiform culture.

³ Delacroix's work was based upon the historical king Assurbanipal. For an overview of the sources that inspired Delacroix, see Farwall, "Sources for Delacroix's Death of Sardanapalus," 68–70.

life before the sovereign. The ornate fixtures throughout the painting along with the rich colors evoke the king's opulent wealth and together they reinforce the impression that he wielded unquestioned despotic power over his subjects. At the same time, the intense and violent visual representations placed in the foreground and background of the painting further heighten a contrast with the central figure—the king—who is set off from the surrounding chaos and impassably looks on as his orders are carried out.

Unlike the Classical traditions, which were preserved over the millennia, the languages and cultures of the ancient Near East were forgotten not long after the turn of the Common Era. In fact, for nearly two millennia ancient Near Eastern cultures were lost to the Western tradition. Inspired by explorers, who were returning to Europe with 'treasures' from the 'orient,' Delacroix painted *La Mort de Sardanapale* in 1827-8. The painting captured Western impressions of ancient Near Eastern societies and politics during this early period of discovery. For Delacroix and others from his generation ancient Syro-Mesopotamia was considered to have been a ruthless and despotic civilization. Even as scientific archaeological excavations were conducted in the Near East less than fifteen years after Delacroix completed this painting,⁴ these early expeditions would only reinforce orientalist perspectives akin to that represented by Delacroix. The initial unearthing of Syro-Mesopotamia was energized by the drumbeat of European nationalism and the monumental remains recovered in these excavations were interpreted through the already well-formed, discursive matrix of the 'orient.'⁵ Imposing Neo-Assyrian palaces and political centers such as those at Nineveh, Dur Sharrukin and Calah were among the first finds of these excavations. These socio-political symbols were taken as 'objective evidence' that confirmed European preconceptions about the political realities in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia,⁶ namely that

⁴ Paolo Emilio Botta began his work at Nineveh in 1842. A fuller discussion of the history of excavations in Syro-Mesopotamia may be found in Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria*, 14–39.

⁵ See, for example, Edward Said, who traces it back to ancient Greek historians such as Herodotus (*Orientalism*, 58).

⁶ E.g. see M. Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria*, 21–39.

politics were radically centralized and despotic as imagined in Delacriox's *La Mort de Sardanapale*.

For decades after the initial recovery of the ancient Near East, a pernicious orientalism occluded inquiry into the nature of the diverse political actors and into how many of these actors shaped the region's dynamic political history. Models of social and political evolution that came to be prevalent in the social sciences during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in part, nurtured this orientalism. A core tenet of these models was that human civilizations unfolded in a linear fashion through history, being instantiated first in simplistic egalitarian forms and thereafter in increasingly complex ones. The pinnacle of human social and political evolution, then, was either implicitly or explicitly thought to be the modernized, Western nation-state. This scheme, when applied to the ancient Near East pigeonholed its civilizations as examples of 'primitive' and ill-formed stages from human history. They were artifacts of a human past that had been almost understandably forgotten and these civilizations were often left out of efforts to comprehend the modern era.

In the twentieth century the social and political evolutionary framework used by Marxist historians, for example, identified the Near East as a society characterized by the Asiatic mode of production. The Asiatic mode of production was a stage in human history that was believed to have combined elements of communal landholding from the previous evolutionary stage with features from the succeeding Greek and Roman slave societies. Within this system, despots held a tight rein over their subject populations and availed themselves of the surplus of rural agrarians, who held their land collectively. According to Marxist historians, the Asiatic mode of production was rigidly administered by despots and was a system that was resistant to change. In fact, many Marxist scholars considered the Asiatic mode of production to be the most tenacious form of socio-political organization in history, having persisted from pre-classical times down through the end of World War I. And in addition to Marxist theories of social evolution that were current during the twentieth century, other evolutionary models, such as those associated with Edward Tylor, Leslie White as well as later neo-evolutionary scholars including Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service were widely embraced among social scientists and historians. These neo-evolutionary models attempted to describe

how societies developed in linear fashion over time from simple groups, such as bands, to increasingly complex forms like chiefdoms and finally to the most complex form of socio-political organization, namely states.⁷

In the 1990s, however, intellectual currents in the social sciences began to change. There was increasing discontent with evolutionary schemes, and several scholars detailed the shortcomings of such models. Norman Yoffee has reflected upon the disenchantment with social evolutionary theories, summarizing how the process of assigning a taxonomic label such as band, tribe, chiefdom or state to historical examples of social groups simply failed to explore or explain "... the varieties of more complex and simpler forms of sociopolitical integration... They offered little explanation of differences within types."⁸ And the dissatisfaction with evolutionary social thought, like that expressed by Yoffee, is echoed by numerous scholarly voices from several different disciplines. As a result, there has been renewed interest in the complexity of pre-modern forms of social and political organization.⁹

As the consensus surrounding social evolutionary theories has begun to crumble, new trajectories for investigating social complexity are emerging. Two more recent historiographies have helped to shape my thinking on human agency and political action. In social theory, the work of Anthony Giddens has sought alternative ways to explain the diversity and complexity of political organization as well as to account for historical changes. Giddens has emphasized human agency and its diverse forms and has rejected impulses to force historical actions into an evolutionary framework. In political science, too, theorists have increasingly emphasized diverse forms of political associations. Scholars like Richard W. Mansbach, for example, have called attention to the diverse types

⁷ Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*, especially chapters one and two review traditional, neo-evolutionary models.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 32–33.

⁹ An excellent example of an interest in social complexity and one that eschews social evolutionary theory is the work of Carole L. Crumley on 'heterarchy' (E.g. "Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies;" "Alternative Forms of Social Order.")

of actors that exist within the complex web of political systems as well as how these agents helped to organize and animate historical events.

Drawing from these currents, the present monograph attempts to integrate historical studies, social theory, and political science. Such an interdisciplinary approach promises to sharpen explanations and interpretations of the political events in Syro-Mesopotamian history. In ancient Near Eastern Studies, specifically, an increased interest in the applicability of theory has produced several creative revisionist histories. J. David Schloen's *The House of the Father*, for example, has engaged contemporary philosophy and social theory in order to reinterpret selected socio-political phenomena in ancient Near Eastern history. Likewise, more recent studies by Andrea Seri and by Daniel E. Fleming readdressed orientalist proclivities in the scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, focusing their work on local political actors from Syro-Mesopotamia.¹⁰ The work of Norman Yoffee, too, has intensively incorporated insights from anthropology and political science into his micro-histories of Syro-Mesopotamia.¹¹

¹⁰ Andrea Seri's *Local Powers* represents a recent approach to ancient Syro-Mesopotamian history that has sought to uncover the voices and perspectives of local authorities that participated in the complex socio-political landscape. She offers a detailed explication of the *rabianum* and city elders (*šibut alim*) as well as other local authorities that helped to animate southern Mesopotamian politics during the Old Babylonian period. Another example is Daniel Fleming's work, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, which addresses the role of local participation and involvement in political decision-making in Syro-Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period.

¹¹ See Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*. For examples of integrating political science with historical studies outside the ancient Near East, see the discussions found in the *British Journal of Sociology* 45:1 (1994) and *International Security* 22:1 (1997) each having dedicated volumes to the topic of how history and the social sciences relate with modern political history writing. Additionally, see the volume edited by Colin and Miriam F. Elma, *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*, which has gathered contributions from academic practitioners in

The discussions among ancient historians, social theorists, and political scientists have only just begun to include specialists from the ancient Near East, yet this type of interdisciplinary conversation is important. It was once common to believe that Hellenic and Israelite traditions were the fount of ‘Western’ civilization, as Jean Bottéro observed in an essay entitled “The Birth of Civilization,” although this is certainly no longer the case. Rather, as Bottéro so eloquently explained, the past century of research in ancient Near Eastern Studies has proven the situation to be quite different.

Today we must go back even further in time... In Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran as far as southern Arabia, we have uncovered a prodigious wealth of monuments and documents bearing witness to civilizations much older than those of the Greeks or the people of the Bible... [And we] have gradually come to realize that it is impossible that these civilizations did not count for something, that they did not play a part in the education of our ancestors from Greece and Palestine; we’ve come to realize that neither Hellenism nor the Bible could constitute absolute beginnings and then we have to return to that essential rule of history: There is always something that came before.¹²

The artifacts from the ancient Near East—both epigraphic and anepigraphic—provide a glimpse into the earliest human history. These sources document the ‘adventures of ancient man,’ as Henri Frankfort dubbed them, including humanity’s earliest social and political adventures.

Moreover, the cuneiform sources from Syro-Mesopotamia are the largest corpora of textual materials prior to the invention of the printing press. As such, they represent an under-explored resource for testing interdisciplinary research. The present work, therefore, has arisen out of an interest in engaging social and political theory as much as out of a fascination with the robust corpus of texts from Syro-Mesopotamia recovered from the ancient capital city of

diverse disciplines and explores the prospects of interdisciplinary collaboration.

¹² Bottéro, “The Birth of Civilization,” 4–5.

Mari. In particular, the sources from Mari, which will be introduced at greater length below, uniquely document the social and political complexities in the second millennium BCE. Using these sources, I will narrate political histories of selected episodes from the reign of the last king at Mari, Zimri-Lim. At the same time, I have adopted and adapted categories from the social and political sciences and have been guided by theoretical models from these disciplines in an effort to eschew the primitivism discussed above as well as to provide a potential basis for interactions with academics that are not necessarily ancient Near Eastern specialists. Ultimately, an interdisciplinary approach to the sources from the ancient city of Mari is intended to enhance the interpretation of politics and how they were conducted as well as to sharpen the understanding of how specific events from Zimri-Lim's reign transpired.

The first two chapters of the present work engage with social and political theory most directly. The remaining chapters, then, address particulars from the history at Mari. Chapters three, four, and five recount specific events and political interactions from the reign of the last king at Mari, Zimri-Lim. In these chapters, I will discuss the socio-political landscape that he negotiated and show how the Mariote king engaged international politics in two distinct ways. On the one hand, Zimri-Lim functioned as the head-of-state, who pursued distinctive state-based interests through *realpolitik*. On the other hand, Zimri-Lim was a leader of the Simal tribe. In this latter capacity he operated as a primary representative in inter-tribal relations and acted according to a different set of priorities in these dealings. Lastly, my retelling of the history at Mari will treat Zimri-Lim's negotiations of these two political interests in the final years of his reign. I will demonstrate how the Mariote king's political life was irreparably altered by an Elamite military offensive, which curtailed his ability to act in international politics. This event undercut Zimri-Lim's foreign policy among the tribes of the upper Jezira and ultimately contributed to the end of Zimri-Lim's political authority. In the conclusion of this book, then, I will briefly return to the question of how an interdisciplinary approach sharpens the explanation of events during Zimri-Lim's reign.

CHRONOLOGY AND SOURCES AT MARI

This monograph focuses on the sources recovered from the ancient city of Mari that date to the first decades of the eighteenth

century BCE. These sources primarily document history along the central Euphrates River Valley and in the upper Jezira. The ruins of the ancient capital of Mari were recovered at tell Hariri. Mari's history began, according to the excavator J. C. Margueron, as an act of political will.¹³ That is, it was founded as a large urban settlement during the first century of the third millennium, sometime after the great expansion of Uruk-culture from southern Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium yet before the second 'urban revolution' in Syria at end of the second millennium. Throughout its occupation during the third millennium and first quarter of the second millennium, Mari was a dominant settlement in the valley of the central Euphrates region and the archaeological remains excavated to date have confirmed the political importance of the city.



Fig. 1.1 Map of Syro-Mesopotamia

¹³ Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 126–8.

One of the best-documented periods at Mari, and that which is the focus of this study, is the Middle Bronze Age¹⁴ or what is often called the Old Babylonian period.¹⁵ During this time a king named Yahdun-Lim renewed the city's prominence through his military victories, chancellery reform,¹⁶ and monumental building projects.¹⁷ It is with Yahdun-Lim's reign, and continuing thereafter for roughly three generations, that the social, political and economic history begins to be documented by an enormous Old Babylonian cuneiform tablet collection comprised of about 20,000 sources. That said, Yahdun-Lim's reign is the most poorly preserved of the final three rulers at Mari;¹⁸ rather, a rival dynastic family, that of Shamshi-Adad, wrested control of Mari from Yahdun-Lim, and the archives from the reign of Shamshi-Adad and his son Yasmah-Addu,

¹⁴ Following the division for this period in Ilan, "The Dawn of Internationalism," 1995, which begins it around 1800 BCE. For convenience, the absolute dates used in this monograph follow the middle chronology.

¹⁵ The nomenclature 'Amurrite Age' is also current, especially in Charpin and N. Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire politique*, 38), but is not as widely accepted.

¹⁶ The palace at Mari was a symbol of international prestige, even in the Old Babylonian period. For example, the king of Ugarit reportedly insisted, "Speak the following to Zimri-Lim. Your brother Hammu-rabi (of Aleppo) says: the man of Ugarit has written to me saying, 'Show me the palace of Zimri-Lim! I want to see it!'" (1) *a-na* [z̄i-ī]m-r[ī]-li-im 2) *qi-b*[ī]-ma 3) *um-ma ha-a*[m-m]u-r[ī]-b[ī] 4) *a-bu-ka-a*-[ma] LÚ *ú-ga-ri-it*[^{KI}] 6) *ki-a-am iṣ-pu-ra-am* 7) *um-ma-mi* 8) É [i-im-r]i-li-im 9) *ku-ul-li-ma-an-ni* 10) *lu-mu-ur*, published in Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari, troisième campagne," 74). For an interpretation of the political ideology of the architecture and the art of the palace at Mari, see Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 459–500 (cf. Al-Khalesi, *The Court of the Palms*; Gates, "The Palace of Zimri-Lim at Mari").

¹⁷ See Durand, "La situation historique des Šakkanakkus," 171–172; "Unité et diversités," 121–126; *Annuaire* 2006–7.

¹⁸ For practical reasons, I have not included the tablets pertaining to the tumultuous months of Sumu-Yamum's reign (see, for example, Dossin, "Archives de Šumu-Iamam").

who ruled at Mari for seventeen years are better preserved. Even still, the most copious documentation from Mari comes from the period after Shamshi-Adad, when Yahdun-Lim's son, Zimri-Lim,¹⁹ regained control of the city of Mari. In fact, the vast majority of the tablets from Mari date to the final thirteen years of the city when it was ruled by Zimri-Lim (1775–1762 BCE), making his reign one of the best-documented periods in all of ancient history. The sources available for the study of Zimri-Lim's reign include dated administrative texts, which help to reconstruct a fairly certain sequence of the nearly thirteen years Zimri-Lim ruled.²⁰ These sources, moreover, provide an important historical framework that greatly aids the interpretation of the nearly 3000 letters that were written during Zimri-Lim's reign. These letters are highly informative in matters of statecraft and international politics as well as the society and culture at this time. Their vivid nature helps to paint a dynamic picture of politics during the thirteen-and-a-half-year reign of Zimri-Lim. Cumulatively, then, the administrative and epistolary sources project a high-resolution picture of the political milieu of ancient Syro-Mesopotamia, documenting geopolitical horizons that stretch from modern day Turkey in the north to the marshlands of Iraq and Kuwait in the south, and from Iran in the east to modern day Israel and Palestine in the west. They reveal Zimri-Lim's political role within this vast landscape as a dominant force along the restricted banks of the Euphrates River Valley during the middle of the eighteenth century BCE as well as the complex social and cultural world that helped to shape ancient politics at this time.

READING THE LETTERS FROM MARI

Several issues should be noted when writing a history that primarily draws upon epistolary sources. Letters are invaluable resources for

¹⁹ While an elaborate historiography has developed an identification of Zimri-Lim as the nephew or grandson of Yahdun-Lim, I share Jack Sasson's hesitance to rewrite Zimri-Lim's family history on the basis of the extant data (Sasson, "The King and I," 598). See also chapter four and note 122 below.

²⁰ For a treatment of Zimri-Lim's year names, see the discussion by Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 257–260.

Syro-Mesopotamianists. The letters from Mari provide remarkable access to diverse groups that helped to make up the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign. They also are a genre that affords specific insights into the biographies of individuals. Yet for these reasons, and others, letters also pose unique challenges as historical sources. Before delving into the history of Mari, it is necessary to consider the nature of the sources that will serve as a foundation for the narrative that follows.

Musing on the genre of letters in Syro-Mesopotamia, generally, Piotr Michalowski has observed that it is a unique type of source among the many others available to ancient Near Eastern historians. While observing that the earliest evidence of writing seems to have arisen from the need to keep records of various commodities, essentially for accounting needs, Michalowski notes that it is letters that are perhaps best-suited for the technology of writing, since they consist of a text that is an organic extension of oral communication. Thus he states that,

[T]he relatively late appearance of letters is paradoxical. If the purpose of writing is to bridge communicative distance and supplement human memory, then the letter would seem to be the ideal form of this new technology...²¹

Michalowski's insights about letters call attention to the way in which this genre shares the personal and efficient nature of oral communication and, as will be shown, the potential to deceive and distort. First, as an extension of oral communication, Syro-Mesopotamian letters provide rare access to the individuals behind the text as well as to the text's audience. With few exceptions, most sources from Syro-Mesopotamia do not reveal their authors.²² Yet letters do preserve the voice of historically identifiable individuals. This is not to say that the person who was named as the sender of a given letter was also its author, at least in the traditional sense of what is understood by this term. Letters, after all, could replicate oral communication through the use of scribes. For example, in the case of nearly forty letters from a locale called Ilan-sura in the up-

²¹ Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, 2.

²² See Foster, "On Authorship."

per Jezira, several scribal hands may be detected behind the letters from two different senders—a daughter of Zimri-Lim and a garrison commander.²³ Thus while these letters do not necessarily reveal their authors who inscribed these tablets, each records the voice of an ancient individual or an ‘implied author,’ who is for practical purposes one and the same person behind the ideas and content of the letter.²⁴

The recovery of individual voices in letters that can be situated at a particular moment in time may be contrasted, for example, with the genre of literary texts and their value for reconstructing political history in Syro-Mesopotamia. Over the past decades scholars have more and more pessimistically appraised the likelihood of recovering any sense of history from literary texts like that of the ‘Gilgamesh Epic,’ in part because the inability to see these compositions as representing a singular voice. Thus literary readings of these texts have been very successful in advancing our understanding of them, while answers about their compositional history, or origins, have grown increasingly opaque. As it concerns this latter point, the loss of the historical context of these compositions as well as of that of the implied author(s) has made them tenuous historical sources. In many ways, the question of authorship of literary texts from Syro-Mesopotamia is misplaced, as perhaps are questions of their historical value for understanding politics and society. As Benjamin Foster observed about the composition of these sources,

...Mesopotamian artistic traditions tended... to stress the outside source of the inspiration... Authors in Mesopotamian civilization well knew and were wont to recall in their texts that

²³ Charpin, “L’Akkadien des lettres d’Ilân-šurâ.”

²⁴ Literary critics have introduced the concept of an implied author to accentuate the differences between the actual author and the personality purported to be the author in a given text (see Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, esp. 347–76). In the case of letters at Mari, the actual author and individual(s) voice(s) behind the message of the text are nearly one and the same.

composition was an ongoing, contributive enterprise, in which the author, or 'first one,' was present only at the beginning.²⁵

Literary texts preserve, then, a collective voice arising from Syro-Mesopotamia's 'stream of tradition' and not from a clearly contextualized, individual one. Thus for historical purposes, literary texts stand in contrast to the voice of an individual sender found in each letter, which provides a unique control for the historical information recorded therein and hence an important variable for the modern historian's reconstruction of ancient history.

Second, in addition to preserving the voice of individuals, letters also address their message to specific audiences. The addressee of letters provides an extra-textual constraint for interpreting these texts' historical value. That said, however, the audience was not always limited to the recipient of letters, but could also include others known to have been in the company of the recipient such as those in the king's court.²⁶ Yet even still, letters had a significantly more restricted audience than most ancient texts from Syro-Mesopotamia. This more targeted audience intended by letters can be brought into full relief by comparison with the much broader audience of other historical sources such as royal inscriptions. On the one hand, royal inscriptions, like letters, contain the voice of an individual, typically the king. The audience of royal inscriptions, on the other hand, is notoriously difficult to discern. For example, in a well-known text, Sargon of Assyria identified the god Assur as his audience for his retelling of his eighth campaign against Urartu. That the god was the actual intended audience may be supported by the fact that other similar commemorative inscriptions were often buried as foundation deposits, where gods would be among the few able to read it. In addition to the gods, however, kings also likely wrote such texts for posterity, to an unknown audience of future rulers. This audience, too, is typically addressed in royal inscriptions in the curse-sections that warn unknown future rulers to respect the accomplishments of their predecessor. Contemporary

²⁵ Foster, "On Authorship," 31–2.

²⁶ For a reconstruction of an example of this, see Sasson "On Reading the Diplomatic Letters."

populations of a royal city or broader polity may also have been in view, as seems to have been the case with Sargon's letter to the god Assur.²⁷ Letters, however, unlike royal inscriptions or any other historical source from the ancient Near East preserve a more clearly defined historical audience, which provides modern historians with crucial clues for understanding the overall message of each text.

Another important quality of the letters from Mari is that they vividly record the vicissitudes of *l'histoire événementielle* and, at the same time, are steeped in the durative cultural mentalities that helped to structure ancient Syro-Mesopotamians' behavior. Letters record important persons, political events, and simultaneously evince the cultural norms and mores that fashioned ancient history. Many investigations of the ancient Near East have recently shifted focus from the individuals of the past to social, cultural, demographic, and environmental systems. This shift represents a renewed interest in the historical horizons that were central to the project of the Annales 'school,' namely those of *conjoncture* and *la longue durée*. On the one hand, the concern for history as it transpired over the longer time-horizons such as *conjoncture* and *la longue durée* is due, in part, to the dearth of data pertaining to the individual in many periods. Thus archaeologists from the southern Levant, where few textual materials have been recovered from excavations, have fruitfully explored history along these lines.²⁸ On the other hand, however, history must always aim at recovering the individual and place him/her within the long-term social, cultural, and environmental matrices. The historian must seek to understand how *l'histoire événementielle* shaped and was formed by *l'histoire conjoncture* and *la longue durée*. The letters from Mari, to a significant degree, allow for a dialectical research program that few other periods in Syro-Mesopotamian history can sustain. The sheer number of letters recovered from Mari, the bulk of which document such a short

²⁷ Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," esp. 143.

²⁸ For example, the work of the prominent Levantine archaeologist Lawrence E. Stager is emblematic of such an approach and has been fittingly commemorated in a Festschrift entitled *Exploring the Longue Durée*.

time-span, extensively document the events from the reign of Zimri-Lim. This same rich set of written sources along with the abundant anepigraphic finds, archaeological survey information, and ethnographic parallels provide excellent data for reconstructing the socio-political landscape of the period.

Having considered the ways in which letters served as an effective and efficient form of communication as well as a unique historical source, it must also be noted how the genre poses formidable challenges for the historian. Syro-Mesopotamians, themselves, reflected on the genre of letters and the process of letter-writing and they considered letters to be emblematic of the complex socio-political world in which they lived. For example, the association between letters and socio-political complexity appears in the Sumerian composition epic *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, where letters are fabled to have been the first form of writing ever composed. This literary tale, in which the reader is privy to Inanna's preference for Enmerkar from the onset, recounted a competition between Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta to determine whom the goddess Inanna loved most. The competition entailed a series of riddles posed by the lord of Aratta to Enmerkar. These riddles served both to move the plot along and foreground important commodities exported from Sumer (grains, crafted goods, and textiles) that anchored the political economy during the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.²⁹ The plot, however, reached a climax when Enmerkar shrewdly solved the lord of Aratta's third riddle and he prepared his messenger to convey his solution. The message that Enmerkar spoke to his courier was too difficult, so Enmerkar invented writing to record his communication:

[Enmerkar's] speech was very grand, its meaning very deep;
The messenger's mouth was too heavy; he could not repeat
it... [So] the lord of Kulab patted some clay and put the words
on it as on a tablet. Before that day, there had been not putting
words on clay; but now, when the sun rose on that day—so it

²⁹ Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings*, 8–9.

was: The lord of Kulab had put words as on a tablet—so it was!³⁰

Enmerkar's letter was delivered to the lord of Aratta and when the latter saw it, he was perplexed.

The lord of Aratta took from the messenger the tablet (and held it) next to a brazier. The lord of Aratta inspected the tablet. The spoken words were mere wedges—his brow darkened. The lord of Aratta kept looking at the tablet (in the light of) the brazier.³¹

Upon his inspection, the lord of Aratta was not only aggravated that Enmerkar had solved his riddle, but he also was frustrated by Enmerkar's innovative creation: writing.

The scene, itself, in which the puzzled lord of Aratta strained to read the tablet by raking the dim lighting of the brazier across its incised 'wedges'³² offers a cultural as well as a political commentary on the invention of letters. The puzzled Aratta and triumphant Enmerkar represent Syro-Mesopotamian dominance in the geopolitical world of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, in part through the means of written diplomacy. The epic does not merely boast Sumer's invention of writing, it insists that it invented writing in the form of letters, because this genre embodied a sophisticated socio-political achievement of Syro-Mesopotamian culture, namely a system of political competition or diplomacy.

Going a step beyond the use of letters as literary symbols of socio-political complexity, they could be associated with the potential for political pretext and deception. For example, the themes of trickery and ruse are connected with letters in the Sumerian tale of *Sargon and Ur-Zababa*. This story recounts the paranoid plot of the king of Kish, Ur-Zababa, to kill his cupbearer, Sargon. Distressed

³⁰ Ll. 505–506 (translation by Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings*, 85).

³¹ Ll. 537–541 (translation by Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings*, 87).

³² See Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings*, 96 n. 57; Vanstiphout, "Mišiltum, or the Image of Cuneiform Writing," esp. 159 and 162 n. 40.

that his throne may be usurped, Ur-Zababa dispatched a letter to Lugal-Zagesi, the king of Unug, in which he asked him to kill Sargon. Ur-Zababa, however, asked Sargon himself to deliver this letter. The narrative assumes that Sargon could read or that he might be curious enough to have it read to him, creating a dilemma for Ur-Zababa. Anticipating this very problem, the narrator interjects an interesting commentary at this point: "In those days, writing on clay certainly existed, but enveloping tablets did not yet exist."³³ As Bendt Alster explains, this remark is intended "to describe how, for the first time in history, an envelope came into being..."³⁴ More to the point, however, it makes clear that envelopes for letters were initially invented for devious purposes, in this case to conceal Ur-Zababa's plot to assassinate Sargon. Thus if the letter-writing in the Epic of *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* accentuates letters' indispensable role within a sophisticated system of intensely trafficked goods and information, then the story of *Sargon and Ur-Zababa* goes further and associates letters with the potential for deception that may develop from social, economic, and political complexity.

Aside from the literary traditions of Syro-Mesopotamia, the more than 3500 letters from Mari provide an 'on-the-ground' witness to the many political uses of the genres. For example, the communiqués from Mari at times contained carefully crafted political 'spin,' stretched the truth, and orchestrated complex political schemes. Perhaps the baldest example is found in a report about the Sukkal of Elam, who had dispatched to Rim-Sin of Larsa a letter insisting that he join an attack against Hammurabi of Babylon, while simultaneously he sent the very same message to Hammurabi of Babylon demanding him to prepare for an assault against Rim-Sin of Larsa.³⁵ The drama and intensity of the diplomatic exchanges at Mari, like this one, even produced a distinctive usage for the verb *šutēpušum* that conveyed the act of writing a letter with the purpose of perpetrating a ruse.³⁶ And the complexity of socio-

³³ Translation Alster, "A Note on the Uriah Letter in the Sumerian Sargon Legend," 171.

³⁴ Ibid., 173.

³⁵ ARM 26.362.

³⁶ See Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 217.

political interactions at Mari is further illustrated by the function of the tablets, themselves, as archaeological artifacts. Several dossiers among the letters recovered from Mari had been forcibly taken in antiquity by Zimri-Lim from the archives of other kings. These letters provided important intelligence for Zimri-Lim in his conduct of domestic and international politics. Likewise, after Zimri-Lim had been defeated and Hammurabi of Babylon had conquered the city of Mari, the Babylonian king commissioned a contingent of scribes to sort, sift, and collect letters from Zimri-Lim's archive to be brought back to Babylon. The value of these letters was rooted in their function as complex information sources. The very fact that letters at Mari were confiscated as intelligence reminds the modern historian that the extant letters may conceal as much as they reveal.

Originators	Addressees
'Foreign' Kings District governor (<i>šāpūm</i>) Mobile pastoralist tribal leader (<i>merhūm</i>) Royal Women (related to the king of Mari) Diviners (<i>barūm</i>) Military commanders Merchants (<i>tamkārūm</i>)	Zimri-Lim, king of Mari
Originator	Addressee
Zimri-Lim, king of Mari	'Foreign' Kings Mobile pastoralist tribal leader (<i>merhūm</i>) Royal Women (related to the king of Mari)
Originator	Addressee
'Foreign' Kings	'Foreign' Kings

Table 1.1. Sampling of Letter-Types attested in the 'Archives' of Mari

In addition to cutting through the political spin that can be found in letters from Mari as well as coping with the ways in which these artifacts moved and functioned in antiquity, it must be noted that these sources do not provide a necessarily coherent account of his-

tory during Zimri-Lim's reign. Rather, they represent the perspectives of dozens of individuals, most of who sent letters to the king at Mari, as well as numerous others who communicated with other recipients. As a result, there simply is no indigenous, unifying historical narrative that organizes these missives. The problem of not having an indigenous framework for studying history at Mari—political or otherwise—with which individual data can be correlated is an endemic problem to Syro-Mesopotamian studies. There simply is no social, cultural, or political narrative that has been passed down from Syro-Mesopotamia that assists the historian as he or she reconstructs the events of Syro-Mesopotamia's past.³⁷ The absence of such a narrative from Syro-Mesopotamia differs from the Biblical and Classical traditions where the histories of the books of Kings and the books of Chronicles as well as Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon provide matrices for entering the worlds of Israel and Greece.³⁸ As a result, Syro-Mesopotamian 'histories' have often been interested in reconstructing chronologies. The lack of an indigenous narrative history for Syro-Mesopotamia no doubt contributes to Andrea Seri's impression of Assyriological research having a proclivity for "[a]rticles organized [in] list-fashion... [and] history books on the ancient Near East that resemble chronicles and modern catalogues."³⁹

The letters from Mari, because they originated from so many different individuals, are also linguistically diverse. Many Akkadian words commonly used in these political communications appear to be polyvalent, being fluidly used to suit an array of intentions and political contexts. Thus the use of *šarrum* (king) by no means designates precisely the same type of political leader in all contexts. And this may have been further exacerbated by the fact that these let-

³⁷ It is this lack of an indigenous narrative history for Mesopotamia, no doubt, that contributes to Andrea Seri's impression of Assyriology as "...skeptical about convoluted theoretical proposals and prefer[ing] to remain as loyal to the documented facts as possible." (Seri, *Local Powers*, 19).

³⁸ van de Mieroop, "On Writing a History of the Ancient Near East," 296–8.

³⁹ Seri, *Local Powers*, 20.

ters, while written in Akkadian, were sent by many who also spoke a North-West Semitic language(s). Thus for the most part one encounters typical Old Babylonian Akkadian, but the language of the letters from Mari is also peppered with a political vocabulary from North-West Semitic.

Letters, then, provide unique opportunities for writing a history of Syro-Mesopotamia. On the one hand, as an extension of oral communication they allow for the recovery of the individual and provide extra-textual, historical constraints for interpreting the political events and social world that these sources document. On the other hand, letters in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia served as a symbol of complex socio-political interactions and therefore contained the potential for political deception. Moreover, the letters from Mari do not provide a necessarily coherent narrative, but rather often project dissonant voices requiring explanation and harmonization on the part of the historian. The possibilities for using letters to write a history of ancient Syro-Mesopotamia are exciting, while at the same time there are not always easy solutions to the problems they present. Occasionally, these sources are straightforward. At other times they are better read ‘against the grain.’ I have tried to contextualize, when possible and necessary, the letters studied in this monograph. I have summarized and cited, where appropriate, the solutions of other scholars, who have worked on these sources over the past decades. I do not primarily focus on reconstructing chronologies. That the arduous task of reconstruction need not be the sole focus of this work is the consequence of the last twenty-five years of efforts by several competent scholars, who have helped to put the chronology of Zimri-Lim’s reign on much surer footings. With these matters in mind I will now turn to an overview of the design of the current work.

DESIGN OF THE CURRENT WORK

The historical narrative in this monograph explores the relationship between individual agents and the social structures that constrained and catalyzed their behavior. It investigates how individual actors who were responsible for *l’histoire événementielle* were affected as well as effected durative mentalities of *conjoncture* and *la longue durée*. The next chapter examines terminological and theoretical issues related to the socio-political world of Mari, such as how to think about Zimri-Lim’s state and how to conceptualize tribes. These structural

elements will be evaluated within their historical context as well as with attention to the actions of individuals who were the agents of *l'histoire événementielle* during Zimri-Lim's reign. Chapter three, then, turns to the evidentiary base from Mari and describes the ways in which mobile pastoralist and tribal groups structured the social and political landscape, as viewed through Zimri-Lim's titulature 'king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists.' It begins with a synchronic description of the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign and presents several historical examples that illustrate how various historical actors created this landscape.

Chapters four and five are principally concerned with diachronic developments. These chapters narrate how historical agents shaped and reinforced the socio-political structures during Zimri-Lim's reign. Limiting historical explanations to the quantum-level, these chapters recount episodic events during the thirteen-year time-span from 1775–1762 BCE, when Zimri-Lim was enthroned at the capital city of Mari. It offers new explanations for the vicissitudes of the period, including the sudden end of Zimri-Lim's reign. In the most concrete historical terms, these chapters collectively argue that Zimri-Lim relied disproportionately on tribal connections especially in his dealings in international politics. And when Zimri-Lim lost the ability to broker power through these tribal alliances due to military pressures from Elam, he was left vulnerable and unable to maintain his political authority.

Chapter four specifically addresses Zimri-Lim's engagement with other kings on the basis of his civic identity as the head-of-state and the Mariote king's place among the sovereigns of his day. It begins with two case studies of Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations with kings in the land of Ida-Maras: Kabiya of Khat and Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka. Using these case studies, it shows how Zimri-Lim practiced *realpolitik* when dealing with kings who had no expressed tribal affinities. The second half of chapter four, by comparison, demonstrates how Zimri-Lim not only acted as a head-of-state in the system of international relations but also functioned as a tribal leader in the international politics involving tribes. It also considers how Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations with kings, such as Kabiya and Ibal-Addu, differed from his negotiation of international politics in which he foregrounded tribal identities. In these latter instances, Zimri-Lim adopted a more ide-

alist approach to international politics as is demonstrated by his nurture and maintenance of the solidarity with the Yamut-bal tribe.

In chapter five I offer an explanation for Zimri-Lim's waning political authority and eventual defeat by Hammu-rabi of Babylon. I argue that the event that precipitated his political decline transpired toward the end of his reign when the Elamites mounted a sustained offensive against several of the polities in Mesopotamia and the northern regions of the Habur. The Elamites undercut the tribal allies of Zimri-Lim, leaving him susceptible to the ambitious expansion of Hammu-rabi of Babylon. And at the end of chapter five, I propose that the nature of the letters from Mari and their archival context may be explained in light of the history of international politics that they document. In particular, I offer an alternative explanation for the distribution of letters from major kings during Zimri-Lim's reign.

Lastly, chapter six returns to theoretical issues related to the work of Anthony Giddens and concludes by connecting the larger social question broached in the first two chapters with the micro-historical narratives in chapters four and five.

POLITICS, THE STATE, AND SOCIETY

‘[P]olitics’ exists [not] only in societies having distinct forms of state apparatus and so on ... [I]here are ‘political’ phenomena—to do with the ordering of authority relations—in all societies.

—Anthony Giddens¹

The global political system consists of numerous, more or less autonomous actors interacting in patterned ways to influence one another. Their independent decisions and policies serve as stimuli for one another and induce or constrain the behavior of others.

—R. W. Mansbach, Y. H. Ferguson and D. E. Lampert²

POLITICS, AUTHORITY, AND THE STATE

This chapter explores the nature of politics and political authority while examining the terms ‘state’ and ‘tribe’ for the treatment of history at Mari. I argue that although politics were not limited to states, the state was a distinctive type of political actor. The state and state-based authority at Mari may be identified most closely with the king. Yet the state was not limited to the king or even the palace administration; it included wide-ranging persons throughout upper Mesopotamia who demonstrated solidarity to the king as well as recognized his authority over diverse populations. As such, the state was an apparatus or a network of individuals and groups that were bound to the king and who shared common interests.

¹ Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 32.

² Richard W. Mansbach, et. al., *The Web of World Politics*, 5.

The state-apparatus was not discrete from the society within which it was embedded, but rather it was inextricably intertwined with the very social world it helped to structure. The state, therefore, was inter-penetrating with society and during Zimri-Lim's reign, in particular, the state interacted intensively with socio-political organizations known as tribes.

The topic of ancient politics begs the question of what is intended by the term, itself. What politics means may seem straightforward, yet precisely because of the immediate and intuitive associations this term may conjure it is essential to clarify at the outset both what is denoted as well as connoted by the term. The meaning of the contemporary English term politics is indebted, in part, to the ancient Greeks. For Aristotle, the concept of politics as discussed in his book *Politics* (*Ta Politika*) encompassed the wide-ranging affairs of the *polis*—from gender roles and the running of the family household to the aims and aspirations of corporate life within the *polis*. Despite the historical changes and eventual disappearance of the *polis* over time, Aristotle's idea of politics continued to be influential and it was echoed, in part, in the Roman idea of the *res publica*. The *res publica* denoted public matters, those things common among the citizens of the city of Rome. Yet Aristotle's understanding of what was entailed by politics underwent a significant development in the Latin idea of the *res publica*. For the Romans, the public issues—those things considered *res publica*—were substantially circumscribed by comparison with what was considered apart of the affairs of a *polis*. The *res publica* was distinct from what was considered the *res privata*, or those things that belonged to a discrete, private social sphere. Politics as understood in the Roman sense of the *res publica* were restricted to matters of citizens' corporate life and had less to do with those social concerns that were considered 'private.'

Since Greece and Rome, many other scholars and theorists in the Western tradition have followed the trajectories of these two traditions, or variations thereof, defining politics as either a more inclusive idea or as a more restricted concept. Herein, however, I am interested in mediating between these two positions for my treatment of ancient Syro-Mesopotamia. On the one hand, follow-

ing Max Weber, I recognize that “[t]he concept [of politics] is extraordinarily broad and embraces every kind of independent *leadership*.”³ For Weber, this meant that the politics of social relationships could take on many expressions. For example, Weber observed that social interactions were framed by raw power (*Macht*) or legitimate authority (*Herrschaft*).⁴ The former, simply put is “...the possibility of imposing one’s own will upon the behavior of other persons,”⁵ whereas the latter was a situation in which,

[T]he manifested will (*command*) of the *ruler* or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more others (*the ruled*) and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruled had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake.⁶

Likewise, taking his cue from Weber, the philosopher and social theorist Pierre Bourdieu has also emphasized the important insight that politics characterizes all human interactions.⁷ Bourdieu articulated a model of ‘politics as conflict,’ in which all individuals are embroiled in asymmetrically arranged power-relations that result in competitive interactions.⁸ Thus for Bourdieu, all social relation-

³ “Politics as Vocation,” 155. This is all the more the case in Weber, since he used the German *Politik* to denote the idea of ‘policies’ as well as ‘politics.’ He adds “One speaks of the exchange policy [*Politik*] of the banks, the discount policy of the *Reichsbank* (German National Bank), or the policy of a labor union in a strike. One can speak of the schools’ policy of a municipal or rural community, of the policy of the committee of an association under a particular leadership, and even of the policy of an astute wife who wishes to guide her husband.” (155).

⁴ On the importance of distinguishing between Weber’s concept of power (*Macht*) and authority (*Herrschaft*), see Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, 156.

⁵ *Economy and Society*, 942.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 946.

⁷ “The Politics of Protest,” 19.

⁸ For Bourdieu, these asymmetrical power arrangements were characterized by a disparity of ‘capital.’ Bourdieu’s concept of ‘capital,’ howev-

ships are inherently political because they are characterized by a disparity of power.⁹ Sharing this general perspective on human social actions, then, I have followed Weber, adopting a definition of politics that is inclusive and, therefore, I have employed the term to describe all types of social action—societal, economic, governmental, individual, or corporate—that generated, catalyzed, constrained or often coerced human behavior.

On the other hand, while I acknowledge the political nature of all social action, I have also regarded the political operations of certain actors, such as states, as distinct from others. The understanding of politics as the specific bailiwick of the state, or state officials, contributed to the myopic paradigm of despotic kings and governments in the Syro-Mesopotamian histories of the nineteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter. At the same time, however, states were defined by their distinct interests as well as by the actors that represented and pursued these interests. To clarify this assertion, in what follows I will address the growing dissatisfaction among many scholars with the analytic of the state and offer a heuristic understanding of it that will be used in the study of Zimri-Lim's reign at Mari. Efforts to marginalize the state have certainly gained momentum in the past ten or fifteen years. Numerous

er, should not be confused with the simple materialist conception of capital, as discussed by Marx and Engels; rather, Bourdieu develops and builds upon Marx's materialism. Bourdieu deliberately delineates several forms of capital such as cultural (e.g. symbolic goods or skills), social (e.g. group membership such as kinship groups) and symbolic capital (e.g. a distortion of any of the other forms of capital). Thus for Bourdieu, 'capital' was not limited to material or economic means for securing power, but it could include various dimensions of society and culture (see Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital.").

⁹ That conflict is ubiquitous in human relations does not mean, however, that relationships cannot be cooperative. For example, Bird and Smith have developed a theory of 'costly signaling' from Bourdieu's work. As they explain, 'costly signaling' was a means for "... individuals with partially competing interests ... [to] mutually benefit from signaling [their] differences..." "Signaling Theory, Strategic Interaction and Symbolic Capital," 234.

scholars in various academic disciplines have contested the utility of this analytic—from political sociologists, to anthropologists, to historians. For this reason a brief discussion of the term is required.

One reason for skepticism towards the analytic of the state is that in recent decades social evolutionary models are simply no longer as widely accepted as they once were. Cracks have spread through the foundational consensus that human society advances through a series of stages and that these stages provide a taxonomic index for cultural and historical analysis.¹⁰ Thus some discontents have questioned the value of the term ‘state,’ having rejecting it as the zenith of society’s evolution from bands, tribes, and chiefdoms. And concomitant with the crumbling of the foundational dogma of social evolution, more focused reviews of previous case studies of states have called attention to the gratuitous application of the analytic ‘state’ to diverse and disparate examples—from the politics of ancient Mesopotamia, to the *polis* and *res Romana*, to the modern nations of Western Europe. The conclusion of these reviews, then, was that no clear list of traits could be distilled since few commonalities could be identified among these highly varied historical examples.

The state, therefore, has suffered a barrage of criticisms, many of which have been aimed at destabilizing the very concept, if not altogether deconstructing it.¹¹ Positively, these critiques have alerted scholars to the problems with the analytic. Adam T. Smith, for example, has advanced one of the most pointed and sophisticated arguments against the use of the analytic of the state. With a firm grasp on anthropological theory and with a care for the study of ancient cultures, Smith argues that the analytic of the state is illusory.

¹⁰ E.g. see Sahlins and Service, *Evolution and Culture* as well as Sahlins, *Tribesmen* and Service, *Primitive Social Organization*.

¹¹ This is, in part, anticipated by Abrams, “Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State.” For an overview, see Torfing, “Poststructuralist Discourse Theory: Foucault, Laclau, Mouffe, and Žižek;” Jessop, “Anti-Marxist Reinstatement and Post-Marxist Deconstruction;” Foucault, “Governmentality;” Bourdieu, “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field;” Trouillot, “*Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World*, esp. pp. 79–96.

ry, "... a mask for political practices..."¹² His argument against the analytic of the state is organized into two main points. First, he objects to ancient historians and archeologists appending the adjectives 'archaic' or 'primitive' to the term state. Such descriptors, he asserts, are inherently pejorative and chronological, positing limited political or social complexity by comparison with the modern era. Second, Smith believes that the state has all too often been reified as an historical actor or as an evolutionary stage of development, occluding the dynamic political events of the past. Thus he laments that the study of the state in early complex societies all too typically devolves into "... cladistics in which typological classification suffices as explanation."¹³ The state, he argues, should not be used *deus ex machina* in historical explanations.

Smith's remarks, as well as others' criticisms of the analytic of the state, are not without merit and, in fact, I share many of these concerns. In particular, I appreciate Smith's resistance to the use of social evolution that simply explains the development of social complexity as a natural and predictable progression in an atemporal hierarchical scheme. That is, given enough time and certain factors, egalitarian societies will not necessarily evolve into ranked or stratified ones. I also share Smith's concerns about the reifying of the state in historical explanation. Thus I do not take for granted that the analytic of the state is without problems when discussing ancient politics. Yet I prefer not to abandon the term simply because it is conceptually challenging or because it was used as a centerpiece by an increasingly unfavorable theory of social evolution.

Calls to abandon the analytic of the state are not novel and they have been resisted by scholars of the past. For example, in the 1960s J. P. Nettl anticipated some of the critiques of the state that have only been amplified in recent years. Nettl recognized the difficulties of defining the state, summarizing the problem as follows:

The concept of the state, though present in more or less marginal form in nearly all sociopolitical analysis today, has not

¹² Smith, *The Political Landscape*, 79.

¹³ Ibid., 81.

lent itself readily to adequate conceptualization in accordance with the requirements of modern theory or analysis.

Yet Nettl, for various reasons, did not endorse an abandonment of the state as an object of study. Rather, for Nettl, the qualities that were uniquely those of states—sovereignty and autonomy—could be used to determine the degree to which a polity could be considered to exhibit more or less ‘stateness.’ Thus he concluded that

[M]ore or less stateness is a useful variable for comparing Western societies and that the absence or presence of a well-developed concept of state relates to and identifies important empirical differences in these societies.¹⁴

In sum, for Nettl the concept of the state was useful, if it was recognized that it was a ‘conceptual variable’ that could be treated in particular historical instantiations.

A congruent line of thought can be found in the work of Theda Skocpol. Skocpol’s well-known efforts in comparative politics to ‘bring the state back in’ made room for ongoing discussions of various instantiations of states and their distinct roles in politics. Her timely project injected the concept of the state back into social scientific research as well as historical explanations. She articulated a sense of historical contingency that guarded against absolute definitions of the state, insisting that, “as we bring the state back in to its proper central place in explanations of social change and politics, we shall be forced to respect the inherent historicity of sociopolitical structures...”¹⁵ In fact, Skocpol resisted any impulse to fashion a definition of the state, adding that there is no need for “... a new or refurbished grand theory of ‘The State.’”¹⁶ Skocpol emphasized the importance of states having autonomy, and like Nettl rejected the need for a meta-theory regarding what precisely constituted a state. At the same time, she considered it to be a con-

¹⁴ Nettl, “The State as a Conceptual Variable,” 591–2.

¹⁵ Skocpol, “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research,” 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

ceptually flexible analytic that could account for diverse ways in which states have been historically realized.

For my purposes, the observations of Nettl and Skocpol focus attention on the variable nature of states and in particular the historical embeddedness and socio-political complexities of states. To take the next step, then, and to apply these insights to history in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia, the recent work of Seth F. C. Richardson is instructive. Richardson rightly maintains the value of the term state, insisting that "... early politics can be usefully apprehended in terms normally reserved for modern states..."¹⁷ At the same time, he focuses on the aspirations of ancient states as a way in which 'stateness' may be fruitfully explored in Syro-Mesopotamia. In particular, he treats the ways in which "... complex sovereignty was simultaneously imaginable and unachieved."¹⁸ With attention to the embeddedness of his case studies, Richardson's reflections on the aspirational nature of Syro-Mesopotamian states demonstrates the variable nature of the concept of the state as well this term's utility. For example, Richardson's insights not only beg questions about *how* states were instantiated or to what degree they were imagined, but also raise issues such as *when* and *why* states were able to (in)effectively exercise their power. Yet before turning to these matters in the context of ancient Mari, it is first necessary to wade further into the discussion of how to conceptualize the state and to sketch a working definition of it that can aid the analysis of the evidence from Zimri-Lim's reign. It will be important to consider how the state is conceptually related to society as well as to discuss an important element of society during Zimri-Lim's reign, namely tribalism, so that attention can be given to the reasons *when* and *why* the former was catalyzed or constrained by the latter.

A working definition of the state

Having insisted that the state is a concept with utility in Syro-Mesopotamian studies, I now turn to the task of arriving at a work-

¹⁷ Richardson, "Early Mesopotamia: The Presumptive State," 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 45.

ing definition. Despite many different understandings of what constitutes states, most discussions revolve around the state's relationship with society. As Alexander Wendt has put it, "States and societies seem to be conceptually interdependent ... the nature of each is a function of its relation to the other."¹⁹ In this section, therefore, several proposals will be reviewed that attempt to describe the relationship between state and society: Marxist, Pluralist, and Neo-Institutionalist. While none provides a satisfactory model on its own, each contributes in different ways to the concept of the state for historical research.

Marxist and Neo-Marxist discussions of the state have emphasized the state in terms of its power in relationship to social classes. That is, Marxist theory, while by no means monolithic, focuses on the state's role as a vehicle for class domination.²⁰ For example, Paul Sweezy, a prominent Marxist economist of the first half of the twentieth century, succinctly defined the state as "... an instrument in the hands of the class structure..."²¹ At the same time, while this statement is broadly representative of Marxist thought concerning the state, there is less agreement among Marxist scholars regarding *how* the state facilitates class domination. Some have emphasized the agency of elite individuals in manipulating political policies. More recently, others have accentuated the endemic structural biases of the state or the state's mass manipulation of ideology, which reinforce class distinctions. Yet the issue on which there is general consensus is that the state is, above all, a means for class domination.

A second paradigm, Pluralism, has in many ways developed as a polemic to the Marxist perspective. According to Pluralists, society is an assortment of many different social groups. For Pluralists, society is inherently diverse, or pluralistic, with different affiliations (religious, economic, professional, etc.). These diverse groups are thought to represent various political interests and to diffusely hold

¹⁹ Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 199.

²⁰ The Marxist scholars in view include Neo-Marxists and Post-Marxists as well (for a fuller discussion of this matter see, Barrow, *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist*).

²¹ Sweezy, *Theory of Capitalist Development*, 243.

power within the state. The result is that the state is a forum for a rich, polyphonic political discourse. This contrasts with Marxists, who cast the state not as a vehicle, but as a setting for competing ideas. Pluralists, moreover, tend to treat social groups as the primary actors in politics and, as a result, a principal facet of Pluralists' research agenda has been to explicate how power was shared within the state. More recently, however, Pluralists have also focused on the polyvalence of individual identities and their fluid group associations, emphasizing that individuals are not simply to be classified as belonging to either society or the state, to one group or another. Rather, Pluralists have called attention to the fact that people are often times affiliated with more than one group and move fluidly between them.²²

A third approach is that of the Neo-Institutionalists. Neo-Institutionalism coalesced, in part, as a response to the Pluralists' sublimating of states' autonomy through their emphasis on society's diversity. In the 1980s Neo-Institutionalists responded to the Pluralists and sought to 'bring the state back in' and to accord the state a central place in research agendas. A central concern of the Neo-Institutionalists has been to reassert the autonomy of the state as a political actor with distinct interests. In this sense, Neo-Institutionalists share with Marxists the belief that the state is an important agent in political and social change. At the same time, the Neo-Institutionalists have self-consciously fashioned their understanding of the state in opposition to Marxist conceptions. For Neo-Institutionalists, the state is not a vehicle for domination, but a self-interested institution. Moreover, while maintaining the autonomy of the state from society, Neo-Institutionalists have also tried to balance the concept of the state's autonomy with its inter-

²² As with all 'schools' of thought, there is diversity on several matters of detail. Most importantly, for example, Pluralists conceptualize differently how social groups' interests and ideas are mediated within the forum of the state. Some have assumed that the balance of power within the state was self-regulating and tended toward equilibrium. Others, more recently, have emphasized that societies' pluralist interests cannot necessarily be reconciled. For a treatment of Pluralism, see Runciman, *Pluralism and the Personality of the State*.

dependence with society. Thus many Neo-Institutionalists emphasize that the state and society are interconnected through a complex process of recurrent interactions.²³

Each of the above perspectives on the state characterizes different yet significant aspects of the relationship between state and society. Marxists theorists, for example, have focused attention on the central concerns of power and domination, as well as on the propensity for pretext and deception. In the ancient Near East states were certainly capable and willing to rule using ideologies as well as to employ brutal and oppressive means to accomplish their aims. States did often attempt to project an ideology that either imagined or, at times, actually reinforced an established authority. Pluralists, by comparison, have noted how society is an amalgam of interests and concerns that are inextricably tied up with the functioning of the state. Thus an important correlate of Pluralism is its emphasis on understanding the state with reference to the society in which it is embedded. The diversity of contemporary society—be it economic, religious, ethnic, social, or cultural—and how it contributes to collective political decision making has been an explicit subject of political reflections since the early modern period. By comparison, the ancient Near East did not produce self-reflective political treatises, such as Aristotle, Hume, or Rousseau. Yet its sources do evince a similar diversity within society and this historical reality invites scholars to explore how society shaped ancient states. Additionally, Pluralists have drawn attention to the complex and multilayered nature of society and how this affects actors' participation in the state. Thus many members of society could belong to more than one social and/or political group and, therefore, act within the state according to a complex set of interests. Lastly, Neo-Institutionalists have rightly maintained that the state cannot be reduced to class-interests nor is it mere reflection of society. Neo-Institutionalism has served as a corrective that has reasserted the state as an autonomous, self-interested political agent that cannot be simply be reduced to the sum of its social parts, even if the state is in the end the king's apparatus for exercising power.

²³ Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Current Research," 25.

In light of this last observation that the state's role as a political actor is greater than simply being a vehicle for class warfare or a forum for society, it is important to more precisely indicate what, then, is characteristic of the state. For my purposes, the well-known definition of the state given by Max Weber is a valuable heuristic for considering the state due to its interpretive and flexible nature: "... a relationship of authority (*Herrschaft*) by human beings over human beings, and one that rests on the legitimate use of violence (*Gewalt*)..."²⁴ Weber's definition is useful, first, because it embraces the state as 'homeostatic clusters' of properties, and not simply a list of traits.²⁵ This means that Weber's understanding of the state is malleable and, therefore, capable of accounting for many historical examples of polities that instantiated more or less 'stateness.' The flexibility of Weber's definition, moreover, derives from his larger methodological commitment to ideal types. Ideal types were conceptual and abstract formulations and not necessarily something that ever existed as such in the real world. He explained:

[I]t is necessary for the sociologist to formulate pure ideal types of the corresponding forms of action which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration by virtue of their complete adequacy on the level of meaning. But precisely because this is true, it is probably seldom if ever that a real phenomenon can be found which corresponds exactly to one of these ideally constructed pure types... Theoretical dif-

²⁴ "Profession and Vocation of Politics," 311. As the issue of defining the state concerns the matter of territory, which Weber includes in his definition cited above, it may be noted that he most simply intends by this idea any spatial extension over which political authority is exercised (see, for example, *Economy and Society*, 55). That said, the nature of territoriality as was constructed during the reign of Zimri-Lim will be treated in chapter three, below (see also, Fleming's mediation of Weber's thought with the Mari evidence in *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 110–111).

²⁵ See also Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 236–7.

ferentiation is possible in sociology only in terms of ideal or pure types.²⁶

For Weber, abstracted ideal types facilitate an entry into an actual world of complex social action, but they do not serve to structure it. An analogy may help to sharpen this point further. The ideal type that Weber used for studying society and history is akin to the abstract definition of shapes in geometry. A triangle, for example, may be defined as a 'closed figure with three sides and three interior angles.' This definition makes no reference to a physical object that is considered to be the perfect triangle, but rather articulates an abstract description. The utility of this simple definition of a triangle is that it provides criteria for recognizing triangles when you see one. Moreover, it also allows for a comparison of triangles, and the ability to explore variations of this geometric shape. That is, the above definition of a triangle does not preclude various instantiations of this shape—isosceles, equilateral, scalene, and right—yet establishes parameters for understanding each as a triangle. In the end, then, the concept of an ideal type facilitates a better understanding of how real-world examples were historically realized.

Some Syro-Mesopotamianists may insist that the ideal type for understanding ancient politics should derive from indigenous terminology, not social theory. Then, some may object that one cannot point to an Akkadian word that corresponds to the modern concept of the state. Without wading too far into the longstanding primitivist-modernist debates among ancient historians, I think it is reasonable that the analytic of the state, as understood as a sufficiently flexible ideal type, can serve as a heuristic tool for historical research on the sources from ancient Mari. It is true that states during the Old Babylonian period cannot be described by a simple concept bound up with a single Akkadian word, or even set of words; there simply was no single Akkadian word that conveyed the ideas connected with the modern designation of the state. Yet this absence of an indigenous term for the state should not be sufficient to force ancient historians to jettison the search for and study of the ancient state. There is no Akkadian word that serves as

²⁶ *Economy and Society*, 20.

the equivalent for the anthropological concept of ‘culture’ or ‘civilization’ either,²⁷ yet one of A. Leo Oppenheim’s most significant contributions to the study of ancient Mesopotamia has been his articulation of a cultural or civilizational artifact common to this region prior to the conquests of Alexander the Great. Oppenheim argued in his book *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* that a hallmark of Syro-Mesopotamian civilization was an assemblage of texts identified as belonging to a ‘stream of tradition.’ These texts shared a literary quality that was “... maintained, controlled, and carefully kept alive by a tradition served by successive generations of learned and well-trained scribes.”²⁸ The ‘stream of tradition’ was testimony to a common culture or civilization in ancient Mesopotamia, a region that was politically fragmented and ethnically diverse. Oppenheim’s historical concept of the ‘stream of tradition,’ however, was not the result of an Akkadian word study, but it was the distillation of patterned behavior evidenced by texts and artifacts. No common literary theme, genre, meaningful vocabulary, or distinct grammar bound the ‘stream of tradition’ together. Nevertheless, he interpreted an important pattern—an implicit warrant—in the distribution and quality of Syro-Mesopotamian cultural artifacts and in so doing explicated what has proved to be a quintessential feature of Syro-Mesopotamian civilization.²⁹

Returning to Weber’s definition, then, its value is as a heuristic tool that allows one to retain the term ‘state,’ while recognizing that states should not be reified and totalized in historical inquiry. At the same time, Weber further developed the concept of the state. He noted that the state was, in essence a political arrangement like many other human relationships. It was “... a relationship of authority (*Herrschaft*) by human beings over human beings and one

²⁷ For example, each of the Akkadian terms *labîrum*, *paršum* (*parāšum*), *pûm*, *redûm*, *simtum*, *ûsum* may be translated ‘culture’ in various contexts. Yet none quite approximates what is denoted by the English term ‘civilization’ or ‘culture,’ in its broadest sense.

²⁸ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 13.

²⁹ Stolper, “On Why and How,” 13–4.

that rests on the legitimate use of violence (*Gewalt*).³⁰ But he also sought to differentiate the state from other forms of socio-political association. The state was distinct from other institutions in its claim to authority. For Weber, the state was characterized by at least three primary features: violence, authority, and legitimacy.

First, according to Weber, a hallmark of the state is its claim to a monopoly of violence or physical force (*Gewalt*). It is important to note that for Weber *Gewalt* has a broader meaning than strictly violence, including connotations akin to the more neutral English ideas of 'power' or 'use of power.' For this reason Hannes Wimmer is able to expound on Weber's use of the term, noting that,

'Legitime Gewaltsamkeit' sei... zwar nicht das einzige, aber doch das wesentlichste Merkmal moderner Staatlichkeit, ist aber trotzdem immer nur die *ultima ratio*, des letzte Mittel, wenn alle anderen versagt haben.³¹

That is, states must possess an ability to enforce its authority through physical power, if needed, but they are not limited to the use of physical violence to achieve its political aims. The way in which Wimmer unpacks Weber's understanding of *Gewalt* is significant for treating the ancient Near East since discursive portrayals of the orient as despotic made deep inroads into early historiography and can distract attention from more subtle uses of power or aspirational expressions of it in ancient states.

This leads to the second feature of the state, which is central to Weber's thinking about the topic: authority (*Herrschaft*). In fact, Peter Lassman has gone so far as to suggest that authority may be "... the central organizing concept in Weber's political thought..."³² Greater clarity is gained with regard to this important theme in Weber's thought, by distinguishing it from simple raw

³⁰ "Profession and Vocation of Politics," 311. Weber added that the state was also a "... [a] human community which (successfully) lays claim to the monopoly of violence ..." (Ibid., 310–11).

³¹ Wimmer, *Gewalt und das Gewaltmonopol des Staates*, 11; Jessop, "Anti-Marxist Reinstatement and Post-Marxist Deconstruction."

³² Lassman, 86.

power (*Macht*). For Weber, the latter was defined by "... the possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behavior of other persons."³³ By comparison, authority was something that implied a social relationship. Thus he added, "... for the state to remain in existence, those who are ruled must submit to the authority claimed by whoever rules at any given time."³⁴ That is, states' authority for Weber was a qualified form of power (*Macht*), which had as an inherent feature an implied reciprocal social connection. To put it differently, from the perspective of those in a position of authority, Weber described authority (*Herrschaft*) as,

[T]he situation in which the manifested will (*command*) of the ruler or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more others (*the ruled*) and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruled had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake.³⁵

To this point, I have discussed authority (*Herrschaft*), which for Weber was a distinctive type of power (*Macht*) reinforced by the state's monopoly of violence (*Gewalt*). Yet Weber added to these two features of the state a third, namely that for both the ruler(s) and the ruled the authority in question must be legitimate. Weber recognized that the ways in which a state could be considered legitimate were numerous, and his elaborations of these means of authority have been extensively discussed. He delineated two general tactics: internal and external modes of legitimation. Internal means were primarily social and cultural resources, or warrants, that were acceptable or reasonable means to compel political action. For Weber, three idealized types of such resources, or warrants, justi-

³³ *Economy and Society*, 942.

³⁴ "Profession and Vocation of Politics," 311.

³⁵ *Economy and Society*, 946. For Weber, legitimacy (especially internal legitimacy) was not merely a means whereby rulers manipulated or confirmed their authority. Rather, that it also was something that could be fashioned or created by societies (cf. Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power*).

fied states' authority: charismatic, legal, and traditional. I will focus on the two latter types of authority.³⁶

The first type of authority discussed by Weber was legal authority, which was legitimated by the very virtue of legality. That is, legal authority operated according to "... a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands."³⁷ In its ideal form, legal authority was characterized by "... a defined 'jurisdiction' that is limited by specialization according to effectiveness and according to the specialist requirement for the performance of the official."³⁸ Furthermore, "... the material means of administration [was separated] from the administrative staff, the officials and employees of the administration..."³⁹ Traditional authority, by comparison, was "... based on the belief in the sanctity of orders and powers of rule which have existed since time immemorial."⁴⁰ Weber cites patriarchal authorities as the most widely attested form of traditional authority, though he subdivides traditional authority into two types: 1) purely patriarchal authority; 2) the organization of estates. The former subset of traditional authority, according to Weber, was conceptualized as a pure despotism, while the latter was a form of traditional authority that incorporated autonomous or semi-autonomous traditional elements into the larger administrative apparatus of the traditional authority structure in question.⁴¹

The importance of Weber's contributions to the idea of legitimate authority is more fully appreciated when, as Randall Collins has observed,

³⁶ As regards charismatic authority, it is exceedingly difficult to penetrate the extant sources from ancient Syro-Mesopotamia in such a way that reveals the charismatic qualities of individuals. It is no doubt for this reason Schloen has noted that traditional and legal authorities, especially when considering the ancient Near East, are the two types most closely related to one another (*House of the Father*, 67).

³⁷ *Economy and Society*, 215.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 239.

³⁹ "Profession and Vocation of Politics," 315.

⁴⁰ *Economy and Society*, 240.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

[Weber's] categories such as charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal legitimation do not exist merely for the sake of labeling and classifying history; they are embedded in a larger network of concepts and in an image of how they work.⁴²

That is, Collins' first point is that the ideal types of authority delineated by Weber, while abstractions, are neither reified taxonomic labels that should replace historical explanation nor descriptions of sequential historical periods as if they were evolutionary stages. Collins goes on to illustrate this by explaining

[T]he routinization of charisma is not merely a psychological or cultural transformation from feelings of charisma into either traditional or rational-legal authority; it is a part of a process of organizational transformation in which the original social movement, through the organizational impetus of its own success, acquires property and hence becomes transformed into either bureaucracy or patrimonialism (or mixtures and variants thereof).⁴³

Collins' point is that for Weber these forms of authority are heuristics that should be expected to exist alongside one another, comingled and embedded together in single historical examples. They change, develop, and are instantiated as mixed examples, as the ideal types of each are never found in their pure form. Thus Weber's ideal types of authority should not be expected to be discrete within a given historical example, but they are found in hybrid forms. As Weber himself observed, "Submission to an order is almost always determined by a variety of motives; by a wide variety of interests and by a mixture of adherence to tradition and belief in legality..." Weber thus cautioned against misunderstanding his ideal types of authority as an evolutionary scheme in which legal authority was solely a modern phenomenon, thus he asserted, "[t]he belief in the legality of an order as established by voluntary agreement is relatively ancient and is occasionally found among so-called

⁴² Collins, *Weberian Sociological Theory*, 6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

primitive peoples...”⁴⁴ Working from a Weberian paradigm, then, it is far from certain that the nature of Bronze Age authority should be sharply distinguished from its ‘modern’ counterparts.⁴⁵ The ancient state’s authority, then, was much like the modern state in that it was legitimated through an amalgam of at least legal and traditional means. Moreover, the ancient state was comprised of and constrained by a system or network of individuals, groups, norms, ideas, and territory. Yet at the same time, the ancient state had the ability to act with autonomy and self-interest in both domestic and international politics and to catalyze and constrain political agency through its structuring of society.⁴⁶

By following Weber’s definition of the state, then, the primary interest is not to prove that the political center at the ancient city of Mari met some arbitrary criteria of what it means to be a state. A portrait of Zimri-Lim’s state will emerge as the chapters of this monograph unfold. But in keeping with Weber’s theoretical considerations of states, Zimri-Lim’s state may be succinctly defined as

⁴⁴ *Economy and Society*, 37.

⁴⁵ Here I draw a contrast between the approach I have outlined and that made by Schloen, *House of the Father* (see further Fleming, “Schloen’s Patrimonial Pyramid;” Monroe, “Review of *The House of the Father*,” esp. 905–6).

⁴⁶ It should be added, since it is frequently overlooked in discussions of Weber’s categories of legitimacy, that in addition to internal means of legitimating authority, Weber also briefly discussed several external resources, noting “certain outward, material goods are needed to uphold any rule by force” (“Profession and Vocation of Politics,” 314). These are only generally defined by Weber, but include all of the material means necessary to retain political authority, as well as the social and administrative structures that furnish these material means. In sum, he equates the external means states needed to achieve legitimacy with the resources required for an economic organization to function. Thus the external resources that one might imagine are the seemingly limitless means by which the state might demonstrate its power, such as military organization, legal infrastructure, and the use of symbolism and ideology.

a centralized political community or association⁴⁷ that was instantiated in and around the king through a network of individuals and groups over whom he either directly or indirectly exercised legitimate authority through his claim to a monopoly of violence. Zimri-Lim's state, therefore, was comprised of diverse individuals and groups, each having numerous political interests that catalyzed and constrained the political agency of the state.⁴⁸ Because the state was made up of various forms of socio-political organizations and inextricably intertwined with the complex social world in which it was realized, it was legitimated in diverse ways.

State and tribe

The foregoing discussion has noted that the state was merely one agent among others; it was a political actor embedded within a diverse and much larger socio-political context. The above emphasis on the state as a political agent in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia is not intended to convey the fact that it was the only or even the primary

⁴⁷ Weber describes his idea of the state as simply a specific type of "political association" (*Verband*); "Profession and Vocation of Politics," 310. He adds, then, that, "In the last analysis the modern state can only be defined sociologically in terms of a specific means (*Mittel*) which is peculiar to the state, as it is to all other political associations, namely force (*Gewalt*)" (310).

⁴⁸ An equally valuable definition may be found in the erudite work of Yoffee who designates the state as "... a political center dependen[t] on its ability to express the legitimacy of interaction among the differentiated elements... by acting through a generalized structure of authority, making certain decisions in disputes between members of different groups, including kin groups, maintaining the central symbols of society, and undertaking the defense and expansion of the society." (*Myths of the Archaic State*, 17). And another acceptable, though less qualified, definition comes from the Assyriologist, I. J. Gelb, who described the *dēmos* ('nation') as, "... a political term denoting a body of persons linked by a state or by the common will to a state" (*Hurrians and Subarians*, v). My only reservation about Gelb's definition is that he freely uses the term 'nation' rather than 'state,' the former having connotations in the field of political science beyond what Gelb intended.

actor in international politics during the period. Rather as R. W. Mansbach, Y. H. Ferguson and D. E. Lampert have noted,

[T]he global political system consists of numerous, more or less autonomous actors interacting in patterned ways to influence one another. Their independent decisions and policies serve as stimuli for one another and induce or constrain the behavior of others.⁴⁹

Thus the discussions of politics and the state are required, in part, to help introduce other significant socio-political actors that engaged with the state. In fact, numerous agents besides the state have attracted considerable attention from political scientists on account of their important roles in both domestic and international politics. For example, Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons have observed that "... in privileging the state as an actor we have neglected the ways in which... the nature or interests of the state itself are potentially changed by the actions of [other] institutions..."⁵⁰ And Jessica T. Mathews' often cited and aptly titled essay "Power Shift" is a pointed assertion of the multiplicity of political actors that are increasingly viewed as powerful forces in modern politics.⁵¹

In the sources from Mari, an alternative to identification by state was identification by tribe.⁵² From the reign of Zimri-Lim, tribes are among the best-attested socio-political actors that existed along with states. Zimri-Lim himself confederated a state that incorporated diverse populations, most prominently the tribal popu-

⁴⁹ Richard W. Mansbach, et. al., *The Web of World Politics*, 5.

⁵⁰ Martin and Simmons, "International Institutions," 747.

⁵¹ She opens her essay with the statement, "The end of the Cold War has brought no mere adjustment among states but a novel redistribution of power among states, markets, and civil society.... The steady concentration of power in the hands of states that began in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia is over..." (Mathews, "Power Shift," 50).

⁵² Also, the *mātum* might be noted, which at times could denote the populations ruled by a king, though at others times represented a population that operated without a clearly organized state apparatus (e.g. Ida-Maras). The world of *mātatu* was another part of the diverse and complex socio-political world that helped to structure states.

lations of the Simal and Yamina. Yet these tribes represented an alternate form of socio-political identity that existed along with—and not mutually exclusive to—political identities that were defined by solidarity to a king or political center. Thus tribes were not typically dismantled by their interactions or entanglements states.⁵³ As a result, tribes and states had complex and diverse relationship, and the interests and identities of each significantly shaped Zimri-Lim's conduct of domestic and especially international politics. Tribes reinforced, constrained, and in other ways affected Zimri-Lim's successes and failures in politics. Moreover, because tribal membership was a distinguishable form of political solidarity they played an active role not only within the state, but also apart from it in international politics.

Tribes, however, were not necessarily less complex or politically subordinate polities by comparison to states; rather, they were merely a distinct form of political solidarity that was capable of interacting with states in manifold and complex ways. That is, the tribes documented at Mari in no way resemble the discursive constructs for this term that have long characterized the fields of the Social Sciences and ancient Near Eastern Studies. For a long time, tribes have been considered a primitive form of socio-political organization. For example, the work of Lewis Henry Morgan, a progenitor of modern kinship studies, codified the term tribe as pejorative for 'barbaric' people groups.⁵⁴ Morgan's study of Native American Indians assumed tribes to be an underdeveloped socio-political group compared to the more evolved societies of Western

⁵³ See Porter, "From Kin to Class—And Back Again!" Porter helpfully considers many of the possible ways in which various modes of social organization can be combined in ancient political organizations, what she calls 'polity morphology.' While I am still convinced that tribe and state are meaningful ways of thinking about two different types of socio-political organization, Porter's emphasis on the complexity of tribal socio-political structure provides an important corrective to neo-evolutionary models.

⁵⁴ For a survey of this history of kinship studies see Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship*.

Europe.⁵⁵ Similarly, early analyses of the ancient Near East relegated tribes to the margins of history and classified their populations as peripheral to its civilizations' states. Tribes, as a result, were identified with the destabilizing pastoralist forces of ancient society, culture, and politics. Thus groups such as the Libyans, Ethiopians, Elamites, Arameans, Chaldeans, and the Sassanians were judged to be 'tribal'.⁵⁶ Social evolutionary models, or stadial theories of society also had significant influences on these fields' early conceptualizations of tribes. According to these models, tribalism was an intermediary stage in the evolution towards statehood, and as such antithetical to it.⁵⁷ Thus one finds comments on tribes in relation to states like that of Patricia Crone, for whom it was a maxim that "[w]hatever else a tribe may be, it is a stateless society..."⁵⁸ The tribe, according to such approaches, was considered diametrically opposed to the state by nature of being a less complex, underdeveloped political entity that served as a precursor to the latter.

These early, pejorative uses of the term tribe have given some scholars reason to reconsider its utility. In the field of Anthropology, for example, terminological reflection was prompted, in no small part, by inner-disciplinary developments during the first half of the twentieth century. The first development was the questioning of widely held disciplinary assumptions about political evolution, namely the supposition that societies evolved in a series of stages.⁵⁹ Another factor that prompted the reevaluation of the ana-

⁵⁵ See Fried, "On the Concept of 'Tribe,'" 8; Godelier, "The Concept of the Tribe," 4–8.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Rawlinson, *Ancient History: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*; Rogers, *The History of Babylonia and Assyria*; Olmstead, *Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Assyria, 722–705 B.C.* In the twentieth century, prior to the publication of large portions of the Mari archives, see Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, esp. 57, 111, 160.

⁵⁷ For a recent and sympathetic reassessment of evolutionary assumptions see Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.

⁵⁸ Crone, "Tribes and States," 447.

⁵⁹ E.g. Sahlins, *Tribesmen*; Service, *Primitive Social Organization*; Friedrich, *Man and His Government*. See also the discussion in chapter one, above.

lytic of 'tribe' was the fluid use of this term in anthropological research.⁶⁰ The designation tribe had grown increasingly vacuous and died a death of over-qualification, as disparate case studies purported to treat 'tribal' subjects with each study relying on different criteria to identify what constituted a tribe. Thus Elizabeth Colson observed,

[W]e use the term [tribe] in many ways for many different phenomena and for many different purposes. In the face of such massive disagreement, we might agree to discard the term, especially since it seems largely irrelevant to the kinds of problems we are currently prepared to tackle.⁶¹

For Colson and others, then, these case studies begged the question of what, if any, empirical characteristics united subject-groups designated as 'tribes.'

As a result, in the 1960s and 1970s many anthropologists called for a reappraisal of this term, as several conference papers, articles, and books tackled the terminological impasse.⁶² This quest for definitional clarity, however, yielded mixed results. As Richard Tapper has observed,

[Scholars] have followed their own varying epistemologies to emphasize differing criteria and thus have failed to agree on a general definition of what constitutes a tribe. It seems that, as with so many would-be general or universal concepts, it is impossible to find an analytic terminology that both takes account of indigenous categories and applies widely enough to be useful for comparison and classification.⁶³

⁶⁰ See the survey of case studies in Fried, "On the Concept 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society,'" and Fried, *The Notion of the Tribe*.

⁶¹ Colson, "Contemporary Tribes and the Development of Nationalism." One may, for example, compare the entry on 'tribal societies' by Lewis in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* with the entry for 'tribe' by Kamal Misra in the second edition of this same encyclopedia.

⁶² E.g. Helm, *Essays on the Problem of the Tribe*; Fried, *The Notion of the Tribe*; Godelier, "The Concept of the Tribe."

⁶³ Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople," 49–50.

Morton Fried's publication of *The Notion of Tribe* in 1975, likewise, reflects on the academic efforts to (re)define the tribe. Fried outlined the *status quaestionis*, asking at the outset of his book,

Do tribes exist? Or are they chimeras, imaginary compounds of various and, at times, incongruous parts, societal illusions fabricated for diverse reasons, but once created, endowed with such solid reality as to have profound effect on the lives of millions of people?⁶⁴

His research surveyed twelve different uses of this term in anthropological literature—from tribes as linguistic groups, kinship groups, or economic systems to cultural units and ideological groups. Fried outlined how some scholars sought to rehabilitate the analytic, namely to explicate its universal characteristics while simultaneously maintaining Anthropology's commitment to value-free research. Others, by comparison, had concluded that the concept was a relic of Eurocentric evolutionary assumptions that should be abandoned to preserve value-free research and to distance themselves from what they perceived to be the pejorative connotations of the term 'tribe.' For this latter group of scholars, then, the terms, 'ethnic group' or 'people group' were preferred to that of 'tribe.'

The value of Fried's retrospective analysis of the concept of the tribe was not, then, that he was able to solve the quandary of what universal characteristic defined a tribe; nor does this seem to me to have been his intention.⁶⁵ Rather Fried's primary accomplishment was that he cleared a path for evaluating individual instantiations of tribes. That is, Fried and others opened new vistas for researching the enigmatic tribe by showing that they were not static stereotypes, but rather that they were complex and inextricable from their surrounding socio-political landscape.⁶⁶ At Mari some of the language used to describe tribal membership suggests that it was predicated on kinship.⁶⁷ And while the emic concepts of

⁶⁴ Fried, *The Notion of the Tribe*, 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 112–114, esp. 114.

⁶⁷ Kinship is understood to be the system of human reproductive relationships and the person(s) born from such unions. Additional defini-

what constituted tribes varied to some degree among tribes,⁶⁸ kinship ideology likely played a role in defining tribal membership.⁶⁹ That tribal identity was typically described in kinship terms and that membership was at least partially constructed along kinship lines is

tions of kinship may be found in Godelier, "Afterword," 386; Parkin, *Kinship*, 3. The legal process of adoption also implies the cultural meaning of biological kinship. In many instances the motive for adoption in Syro-Mesopotamia appears to have been a vehicle for constructing an analogous kinship bond: the adoption of orphans, childless parents' adoptions, and the adoption of children by a previous spouse. For example, Elizabeth Stone, observes "'... even where property exchange appears to have been the primary motivation for an adoption, the adoptive son gained all the rights and privileges that were normally accorded to a natural son or to a son adopted for more conventional reasons.'" (Stone, *Adoption in Old Babylonian Nippur and the Archive of Mannum-mešur-lišsur*, 33). Such kinship bonds, therefore, have been referred to as putative by anthropologists (Parkin, *Kinship*). 'Fictive' kinship, however, designates social relationships that may be patterned after traditional kinship, but are distinct from them. As Parker notes, "All human societies have kinship, that is they all impose some privileged cultural order over the biological universals of sexual relations and continuous human reproduction through birth." He clarifies his statement, adding that kinships studies are not strictly about biology, but about social and cultural meaning, "... while the biologist studies kinship in the physical sense, for the social anthropologist kinship is not biology, but particular social or cultural interpretations of the biological universals..." (Parkin, *Kinship*, 3.). Parkin's reaffirmation of kinship theory's utility *because of its* reproductive connotations represents an increasingly widespread response to previous critics such as Schneider (Schneider, *Critique of the Study of Kinship*, 194), who questioned whether kinship as a metaphor for reproduction was a ubiquitously meaningful phenomenon. (See also Scheffler, *Filiation and Affiliation*, 3). Additionally, see the brief discussion in chapter three and the treatment of A.981 in chapter five.

⁶⁸ This problem is not only due to a lack of extensive and explicit reflection on the matter in the letters from Mari, but also because most of the insights about tribal organization concern the Simal and Yamina. Thus other tribal groups are less well understood and the sources seldom preserve their unmediated perspective about their tribal identities.

⁶⁹ Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 32–39.

most straightforwardly testified to by the common prefixing of DUMU (*binum*) to tribal groups: *bīn Yamīna*, *bīn Yamūt-bal*, or *bīn-Simal*. Moreover, the kinship terminology used to describe tribal identity was not restricted to such generic designations as DUMU (*bin*) + tribal name; rather, a kinship ideology is further reflected at more fundamental levels. For example, one missive recounts a plea by a Yamina leader that begins with a statement about his clan-based tribal identity: “By birth we belong among the Yahurreans, not to the *Yar(r)adum*, (thus) we do not have a *hibrum*-(community) or *kadūm* in the pasture-land. We are native to the Yahrur...”⁷⁰ Several linguistic features of this plea are not easy to interpret and a fuller explication of this letter may be found below,⁷¹ but at this point it suffices to note that the vocabulary seems to convey a kinship ideology that was partially responsible for the fashioning of tribal identities. At the same time, ethnographic parallels have certainly demonstrated the elastic nature of kinship in constructing tribal groups⁷² and, unfortunately, the precise details of how kinship functioned as a mechanism for political solidarity among the tribes of eighteenth century BCE is not clear.

Tribes’ distinct socio-political organization coupled with their entanglement within a larger socio-political landscape led to complex relations with states, as already noted above. To better frame the spectrum of possibilities for understanding tribes relations with states, then, it is helpful to consider recent studies in political science and international relations that have called attention to the roles of numerous political agents that operated alongside the state.⁷³ For example, the many political agents considered along

⁷⁰ A.981: 34) *um-[m]a-mi iš-tu {šī-t<im>} šī-tim* 35) *i-na ia-ḥu-ur-ra ú-ul ia-ra-du-um* 36) *nī-nī ù i-na na-we-e-im ḥi-ib-ra-am* 37) *ù ka-di ú-ul nī-šū* 38) *zu-ru-ḥa-tum a-na ia-aḥ-ru-ur nī-nu*.

⁷¹ See further commentary on this letter below in chapter six.

⁷² See, for example, Geertz, “The Meaning of Family Ties;” and more recently Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia*, 124–7, 156.

⁷³ Thinking about tribes in light of modern categorizations of political actors, rather than in keeping with earlier, pejorative classifications, emphasizes their nature as political agents distinguishable from states yet still as equally significant and complex. That is, considering tribes as akin

states in the contemporary world include non-state actors (NSA), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international governmental organization (IGOs), international non-profit organizations, multi-national corporations (MNC), and governmental noncentral actors (GNC)—just to name a few. The panoply of political actors treated by political scientists have often centered on these agents' autonomy in relation to centralized states as a criterion for classifying them.

When analyzing evidence from Syro-Mesopotamia, the issue of these political agents' autonomy from states is not always easily discerned in the highly perspectival evidence. For example, since writing was frequently the prerogative of more centralized political institutions, groups often bore labels such as *umman manda* (probably meaning something like: 'troops of [someone] I do not know'),⁷⁴ which discursively designated peripheral populations who more often than not frustrated the sovereignty of a given king.⁷⁵

to actors in contemporary politics mitigates the pejorative stereotypes of these groups that have so often characterized western analyses of them.

⁷⁴ See GAG 176–77; cf. Adali, *The Scourge of God*, 31.

⁷⁵ One might also consider the term *ḥapirum* at Mari, which referred to populations that no longer inhabited their native homes because they had been displaced under duress and/or were forced to lead more mobile livelihoods (*ḥapirutum*). As such, *ḥapiru* existed at the margins of states and were often viewed by the state as a nuisance and even were perceived to be the antithesis, at least rhetorically, of what it was to be a legitimate political authority. Moreover, the *ḥapiru*, because of their uprooted existence also were found acting as mercenaries for legitimate authorities (see A.2126 cited by Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 52 n.203). The highly discursive use of the term *ḥapirum* makes it very difficult to assess. For an example of the perspectival uses of this term, see FM 8.3, a letter of Ibal-Addu which identifies a certain Sarum as neither Simal nor from the land of Ida-Maras and hence as a *ḥapirum*. Likewise, the unedited fragment A.11265, a letter of Itur-Asdu, the governor of Nahur (cited by Bottéro, *Le problème des ḥabiru*, 20 [text number 22]) notes the troops of the Simal could be perceived, from an outsider-perspective to be like the *ḥapiru*: 'We (are) like the troops of the *ḥapiru* (against) the city of Ashushik.' (7') *um-*

Thus those who were dubbed *umman manda* from one king's perspective may be an integral part of a state, or some other socio-political group, from the viewpoint of someone else. The perspectival nature of the ancient sources, and especially letters which I have discussed in chapter one, do not provide a consistent or clear description of many aspects of ancient Syro-Mesopotamia politics.

Despite the perspectival limitations of the evidence, it has become clear from the work of other Mari specialists that the evidence from the reign of Zimri-Lim depicts tribes operating alongside states with substantial degrees of autonomy.⁷⁶ Thus at times, for example, tribes operated akin to Non-State actors, which Josselin and Wallace have described as agents that are theoretically completely autonomous from the state.⁷⁷ At Mari, a *merḫû* tribal leader, Bannum, is credited with having established the foundation of Zimri-Lim's kingship at Mari.⁷⁸ At other moments, however, tribes functioned more as governmental noncentral actors, which as Richard W. Mansbach and Yale H. Ferguson have described were "composed of personnel from regional, parochial, or municipal governments within a single state or of colonial officials representing the state."⁷⁹ Certainly as Zimri-Lim's reign went on, the *merḫû* tribal leaders were increasingly integrated into the state-apparatus. Yet even in such cases, when tribes were somewhat more incorporated into the state, they continued to operate with remarkable semi-autonomy.⁸⁰ Throughout Zimri-Lim's reign, for

ma-ami ki-m[a] ṣa-bu-um LÚ.MEŠ ha-pí-ru 8') a-<na a>-lum a-šū-šī-ik^{KI} ṣa-ba-tim 9') ni-nu.

⁷⁶ While in slightly different ways, this has been an emphasis in the work of several scholars dealing with Mari. For example, Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16–18; Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Making of Near Eastern Civilization*.

⁷⁷ Josselin and Wallace, *Non-State Actors*, 2–3.

⁷⁸ A.1098.

⁷⁹ Mansbach, et. al. *Web of World Politics*, 41.

⁸⁰ One example of the state's involvement in tribal affairs can be found in in ARM 26.45. In this missive, Asqudum, a high-level diviner in the court of Zimri-Lim, represented the Mariote king at a *riḫsum*. Asqudum wrote to the king that he would make sure that any opponent

example, tribes were consistently engaged in paradiplomatic activities, in which they were "... involve[d] in international relations through the establishment of permanent or ad hoc contacts with foreign public or private entities."⁸¹ And as a result of this significant autonomy, tribes constrained and empowered Zimri-Lim's state through their performance of specialized functions from outside of it as well as from within it.⁸²

CONCLUSION

The above discussions of politics, authority, states, and tribes provide parameters for approaching the history at Mari during Zimri-Lim's reign. Aspects of the larger socio-political landscape of the period, in which both states and tribes were entangled, can now be sketched in the following chapter after which the varied interactions between states and tribes in international politics will be treated. Zimri-Lim operated as both head-of-state and as a Simal tribal leader and these two sets of interests constrained and/or catalyzed each other in his conduct of international politics. At times, Zimri-Lim opted to conduct politics on the basis of his tribal identity and with tribal interests in mind, using his solidarity with Simal populations to help control the central Euphrates River Valley and beyond. At other moments, however, Zimri-Lim functioned as a head-of-state and engaged in a regularized system of international politics with foreign sovereigns on this basis. Yet Zimri-Lim's conduct evinces a pattern in which the Mariote king most heavily relied

of the Simal tribal leader (*merhûm*) Ibal-pi-El, would unable to attend the *ribsum* or else that he would detain anyone who rose up and spoke against Ibal-pi-El (for more on the *ribsum*, see chapter 4 below and the bibliography cited there).

⁸¹ Noé Cornago, "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy," 40.

⁸² That tribal populations empowered ancient states is clearly evinced in cases where the dominant tribal populations lent their name to states, as was the case with the Yamut-bal tribe, which designated the state of Andarig, and with the Numha tribe, which was used as a stenograph for the state of Kurda. Even in the case of Mari, Hammu-rabi of Babylon at least perceived Zimri-Lim to be 'the king of the Simal.' See *ARM* 26.385: 6") LUGAL DUMU *si-im-a-al*.

on tribal connections to pursue his interests, both domestically and in the reaches of the upper Jezira. By comparison, his ability to secure his foreign interests in international relations through an emphasis on his role as head-of-state was largely ineffective and unsuccessful. Zimri-Lim's disproportionate reliance on his tribal connections contributed in part to his demise, for when tribal means for conducting politics were undermined by the aggressive advance of the Elamite armies, Zimri-Lim was unable to hold together state-based and tribe-based politics. And Zimri-Lim's declension was concomitant with the ascent of the Babylonian monarch, Hammu-rabi, who altered and restructured the socio-political landscape, as he ultimately conquered Mari and extended his authority from Ur and Eridu in the South to Tuttul and Andarig in the north.

Lastly, the history of Zimri-Lim's reign and, in particular, how he engaged with and configured the relationships between state and tribes will be taken up again in chapter six. This chapter will connect the historical details of Zimri-Lim's reign in chapters four and five with macro-level questions from social theory. In particular, Anthony Giddens's theory of inter-societal systems as well as the concept of self-organized criticality will be considered in order to sharpen the historical explanation of political events from Zimri-Lim's reign.

A DYNAMIC SOCIO-POLITICAL LANDSCAPE: “MARI AND THE LAND OF THE MOBILE PASTORALISTS”

If land is an objective concept, a physical solid that composes the surface of the planet, then landscape can be understood as land that humans have modified, built on, traversed, or simply gazed upon. Because of this sense of human production that inheres in the term, landscape must be understood not simply as space or place but as a synthesis of spatiality and temporality.

— Adam T. Smith¹

[A]nthropologists quaintly used to characterize as “primitive government” those systems of rule wherein the spatial extension was demarcated on the basis of kinship. Moreover, they held that a critical stage in societal evolution was precisely the shift from consanguinity to contiguity as the relevant spatial parameter. To be sure, territory was occupied in kin-based systems, but it [alone] did not define them.

— John Gerhard Ruggie²

INTRODUCTION

The socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim’s reign is the context for understanding the dynamic interactions between states and tribes that was introduced in chapter two. Chapter three, therefore,

¹ *Political Landscapes*, 10.

² “Territoriality and Beyond,” 149.

will describe the nexus of spatiality, human agency and temporality that constituted the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign. This landscape will be primarily analyzed through the lens of Zimri-Lim's well-attested titlature, "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists."³ Zimri-Lim's titlature was engraved on the royal seal, inscribed in his only extant building inscription, and employed in international treaties. It should be noted at the outset that I am not suggesting that the Mariote king's two-fold titlature should be correlated with the two forms of socio-politics—state-based and tribal—that animated politics during Zimri-Lim's reign. Rather, Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists" provides a window into the broader socio-political landscape of the time. It reveals, among other things, a patchwork of tribal populations with diverse subsistence strategies that helped to organize and structure the space along the central Euphrates, in the Sinjar, and the Habur basin during the eighteenth century. Thus politics during Zimri-Lim's reign cannot be discussed without specific reference to the modes of subsistence, the various tribal solidarities, or the spatial realities that framed the politics of the period. Because many dimensions of the larger socio-political landscape are denoted or connoted by Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists," his titlature provides an entry into the broader socio-political landscape documented by the Mari letters.

"KING OF MARI"

The explication of the title "king of Mari" rightly begins with the history of Mari as a political center during the centuries prior to Zimri-Lim's reign.⁴ Reflecting on the genesis of this title and its evolution during the two generations before his reign will help to

³ LUGAL *ma-r^{ki} ù ma-a-at ha-na*.

⁴ Among the treatments of Zimri-Lim's titlature, several important studies should be noted. These include, among others, Charpin and Durand, "Fils de Simal;" Durand, "Unité et diversité," esp. 112–120; Fleming, "Kingship of City and Tribe Conjoined: Zimri-Lim at Mari;" Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, esp. 147–69.

clarify the ways in which it may have been used by Zimri-Lim himself. By the time Zimri-Lim ascended to the throne, the claim to be “king of Mari” did not simply refer to his political authority over the city and its environs; rather, this title had come to connote sovereignty over populations that were connected with the central Euphrates River Valley. That is, Zimri-Lim’s claim to be the “king of Mari” was intended to express his authority over the city of Mari and secondarily the diverse populations of the Euphrates River Valley, which could be referred to as the *ah Purattim*.

The genesis of a political tradition: the precursor to kingship at Mari

The political significance of the city of Mari, which would become Zimri-Lim’s capital city, began with its founding in the third millennium BCE. The city was in many respects a product of its location in the narrow valley of the Euphrates River. Irrigation facilitated agriculture in the valley itself (*ah nārim*), but the arable land was restricted by the steppe (*nawūm*) that rose in the east and west up to the Jezira and Shemiya, respectively. Pastoralist groups and their flocks who used the steppe lived in symbiosis with the settled populations of the valley. The river valley and the adjacent steppe offered few abiotic resources such as metals or stones, yet both were connected with regions beyond the central Euphrates. For example, the Euphrates River and a series of canals that crisscrossed the valley provided an important means of access from Mari to the world of northwestern and northeastern Syria.⁵ To the northwest, the ancient city of Emar (Tell Meskene), which was located at the great bend in the Euphrates River, served as a gateway to western

⁵ See Durand, “Problèmes d’eau et d’irrigation dans la région de Mari, 122ff;” Lafont, “Irrigation Agriculture at Mari, 135–7.” There is limited allusion to the canals as a means of transportation in the letters from Mari, though their use in antiquity is difficult to deny for practical reasons. The most important canals (or *rakibi*) from the time of Zimri-Lim were 1) Ishim-Yahdun-Lim, which ran from Dur Yahdun-Lim to Terqa; 2) the ‘Mari canal,’ which spanned between Mari and Der; 3) and the Habur canal, which went from Saggaratum (perhaps Tell Abu Ha’it) to Suprum (perhaps Tell Abu Hassan).

Syria and ultimately to the Mediterranean coast via Aleppo and the Orontes River Valley. A desert route, too, led from the Euphrates River Valley at Terqa (Tell Ashara) and the fortress town of Dur Yahdun-Lim (Deir el Zor)⁶ to the west via the oasis of Tadmer,⁷ which is better known by its Roman-period name Palmyra. Also, about 100 kilometers upstream from Mari, the Habur River joins the Euphrates River, which was a significant route to the north-eastern corners of Syro-Mesopotamia. It led to the rich agricultural lands of the upper Jezira, where several tributaries water the plains as they flow down in a triangle-like pattern from the Tur Abdin Mountains and converge near modern day Al-Hasakah. And to the south of Mari, the Euphrates meanders nearer and nearer to the Tigris where several routes led across the Wadi Tharthar and the narrowing Jezira to the Tigris River Valley.

Mari's central location in the geographic expanse of Syro-Mesopotamia contributed to the city's role as a strong political center that actively engaged the worlds to the northwest, northeast and south while controlling river and caravan traffic. As already noted, Zimri-Lim was not the first to politically capitalize on Mari's strategic location; therefore, his assertion to be "king of Mari" was conditioned by the city's long-standing political traditions prior to his reign. The most significant of these traditions for understanding Zimri-Lim's titulature began in the twenty-third century. The remains from this period at Mari were sealed in a conflagration level that included nearly every monumental building at Mari except for the palace.⁸ The cause of the fire that destroyed this archaeological stratum at Mari cannot be determined with certainty, although it may have been a military campaign by the Akkadian king Naram-Sin. Whatever the cause, however, new political traditions emerged

⁶ Joannès, "Palmyre et les routes du désert au début of deuxième millénaire av. J.-C." For the possible identification of Dur Yahdun-Lim at Tell Mohasan, see Geyer and Monchambert, *La basse vallée de l'Euphrate syrien*.

⁷ E.g. ARM 5.23.

⁸ Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 308–312.

in the aftermath of the city's destruction.⁹ From the twenty-third until the late nineteenth century a series of rulers at Mari took the title 'governor,' or *šakkanakkum*. The title, itself, may have originated from the brief period of Akkadian administration at Mari, when a high-ranking military official resided in the city and administered it for the Akkadian king.

Yet even after the Akkadian state collapsed the title *šakkanakkum* continued to be used by the rulers at Mari. At this time, however, the title evolved and came to designate autonomous rulers at Mari, having acquired royal connotations. The rulers of the city bore the title *šakkanakkum* for nearly four centuries and it is striking that these individuals seem to have eschewed the Akkadian nomenclature 'king' (*šarrum*).¹⁰ Whatever its origins, the *šakkanakkum*-period, nevertheless, represented a new political trajectory in the history at Mari. This period is not as copiously documented by textual sources as the subsequent periods of Yahdun-Lim, Yasmah-Addu and Zimri-Lim, yet the anepigraphic remains suggest it was a time of unparalleled innovation and accomplishment in culture and politics at Mari.¹¹ From this time, the monumental remains of the city testify to the *šakkanakku*'s political power as well as to Mari's importance as a royal residence. In particular, it was during the *šakkanakkum*-period that a great palace at Mari was built, which in its final phase was comprised of nearly 300 rooms. Palaces in the ancient Near East, such as the one at Mari, were not only hubs for economic, religious and political life but also symbols for rulers who placarded their power in both domestic and international politics. A well-known example of the palace's symbolic value is found in the Hebrew Bible, which recounts the construction of a palace built by Solomon. Not only is this accomplishment presented as reflection of his authority over all of Israel, but it is also reported to have contributed to his prestige abroad, since the Queen of Sheba

⁹ For a working chronology that places the first *šakkanakum* during the reign of Naram-Sin, see Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 327–8.

¹⁰ See Colonna d'Istria, *Textes de l'époque des derniers šakkanakku de Mari* (forthcoming).

¹¹ Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 422–430.

is said to have been overwhelmed by, among other things, his palace. Likewise, many Neo-Assyrian monarchs present their building of palaces, such as Sargon II's construction of Dur Sharru-kin, as an emblem of their sovereignty. The palace at Mari that had been built by the *šakkanakkū* served as an imposing physical reminder of the rulers' sovereignty over those they governed as well as a symbol of power to contemporary foreign rulers. In what is likely an allusion to the impressive size of the palace at Mari, the king of Ugarit wrote to his suzerain, the king of Aleppo, about taking a trip to see Zimri-Lim. He insisted, "Show me the palace of Mari, I want to see it!"¹² The palace, built during the *šakkanakkum*-period charted a new course in the history of the city, establishing it as a significant political center for centuries to follow.

The *šakkanakkum*-period, then, literally laid the foundations for a political tradition at Mari and, no doubt, also began to fashion an ideology of political sovereignty. Unfortunately, the texts from this period are less informative about the nature and extent of political authority. At the same time, however, the continuities in the symbolism of the palace, which was built during the *šakkanakkum*-period¹³ and continued to be used until its destruction by Hammurabi of Babylon, serve as a material instantiation of an emerging political tradition that would persist for nearly two and a half centuries. For example, from the reigns of Yahdun-Lim through Zimri-Lim the memory of the *šakkanakkū* was preserved by a small raised area, room 66, which was adjacent to the throne room and seems to have housed statues of the *šakkanakkū* rulers. At the base of the stairs that led up to this raised area was a statue of one of the early *šakkanakkū* rulers, Ishtup-Ilum, which stood approximately one and half meters tall.¹⁴ The precise function of this room is not easily discerned, but the ideological importance of the *šakkanakkū*

¹² Published in Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari, troisième campagne," 74 (for the Akkadian, see note 16 in chapter 1)

¹³ Ibid., 367–71.

¹⁴ Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 378–80; Cf. Durand, "L'organisation de l'espace." The other rulers seemingly commemorated in the palace at Mari during Zimri-Lim's reign are Iddin-Ilum and, perhaps, Lashkan (Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate*, 412–14).

rulers for the later kings (*šarrū*) at Mari is certain. Yet this new political tradition at Mari would evolve. To be sure, Mari continued to be an important political capital during the reigns of Yahdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim, rivaling the capitals of Babylon and Eshnunna. But the new dynasts like Yahdun-Lim and his son Zimri-Lim grafted themselves into earlier traditions, while they simultaneously innovated these traditions.

Kingship at Mari and the central Euphrates River Valley

The *šakkanakkum*-period served as the template for Yahdun-Lim's reinvention of Mari's importance as a political center. At the same time, Yahdun-Lim was the first ruler, as far as we can tell, that significantly reshaped the *šakkanakkū* traditions. Yahdun-Lim may not have originally come from Mari, but rather may have begun his career about twelve kilometers north of Mari, across the Euphrates River, at the nearby city of Suprum.¹⁵ Yahdun-Lim most noticeably transformed the political traditions from the *šakkanakkum*-period by his use of a new title, 'king' (*šarrum*). That is, Yahdun-Lim abandoned the previous title *šakkanakkum*, which had designated the rulers at Mari for generations. Additionally, as I will show, he helped to define the claim to be "king of Mari" through his aggressive expansion of political control beyond the environs of the city of Mari itself.

Yahdun-Lim's adoption of the titulature "king of Mari" certainly denoted his control of the *šakkanakkum*-period's political center. At the same time this title, being newly coined, would begin to evolve due to his military successes along the central Euphrates River. That is, Yahdun-Lim's conquest of the middle Euphrates region began a process whereby what it meant to be the ruler at Mari slowly came to connote authority over the central Euphrates region as well as the city of Mari.¹⁶ The connection between Yahdun-Lim's title "king of Mari" and the region of the central

¹⁵ Durand, "La situation historique des Šakkanakku," 166–9. See also, the brief, but instructive discussion Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 43–4.

¹⁶ Cf. Fleming, "Kingship of City and Tribe Conjoined: Zimri-Lim at Mari."

Euphrates River Valley is rhetorically developed in his commemorative inscriptions. In these inscriptions Yahdun-Lim emphasized that he was “the one who controls the *ab Purattim*” and he recounted how he militarily incorporated the central Euphrates River Valley under his authority. For example, in what is sometimes referred to as the ‘disk inscription,’¹⁷ Yahdun-Lim introduced his military accomplishments in the Euphrates River Valley with a list of titles. He claimed to be “... the son of Yaggid-Lim, king of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of mobile pastoralists, mighty king, who controls the banks of the Euphrates (*ab Purattim*).”¹⁸ Among the numerous titles of Yahdun-Lim in this inscription, his authority over the *ab Purattim* is explicitly noted. Moreover, the designation “the one who controls the banks of the Euphrates (*ab Purattim*)” seems to both summarize the previous claims to be king of Mari and Tuttul as well as anticipate the account of his military accomplishments in the Euphrates River Valley that follow: “I removed hostilities from the banks of the Euphrates (*ab Purattim*) and made my land dwell in security.”¹⁹

The ‘disk inscription’ further develops the *ab Purattim*, not simply as a conquered territory, but as one that had been integrated into Yahdun-Lim’s generalized structure of authority, which was centered at Mari.²⁰ Yahdun-Lim alluded to his newly established

¹⁷ It is actually a commemorative cone (*sikkatum*) that recounts his construction of a fortress, Dur Yahdun-Lim, upstream from Mari (= RIME 4 E4.6.8.1).

¹⁸ RIME 4 E4.6.8.1: 1) *ia-ab-du-un-li-im* 2) DUMU *ia-gi-id-li-im* 3) LUGAL *ma-rī*^{K1} 4) *tu-ut-tu-ul*^{K1} 5) *ū ma-at ba-na* 6) LUGAL KALA.GA 7) *ga-me-er* 8) GÚ I₇.BURANUN.NA.

¹⁹ 21) *bi-ip-pi* 22) *ša* GÚ I₇.BURANUN.NA 23) *as-sū-ub-ma* 24) *ma-ti šu-ub-tam* 25) *ne-eḫ-tam ú-še-š-ib*. While particulars of this statement continue to trouble interpreters, especially the word *bi-ip-pi*, the general sense is clear from the context. For a discussion of this word, see Held, “On Terms for Deportation,” 60-2; see also the comments by Sasson, “Mari Historiography,” 445 n. 14.

²⁰ A similar theme is sounded in the Shamash Temple inscription of Yahdun-Lim, in which also touted his military achievements in the *ab Purattim*. In this inscription he asserted “he deported their land and se-

authority over the *ab Purattim*, claiming: "... I expanded my land and firmly established the foundations of Mari and my land."²¹ That is, Yahdun-Lim asserted that he had secured his powerbase at Mari and throughout his land. The land to which Yahdun-Lim refers, I believe should be contextually be correlated with the *ab Purattim*. That Yahdun-Lim's land is to be understood as that region along the Euphrates River Valley is indicated, initially by his claim to have renovated Terqa in this same inscription. Moreover, this inscription focuses on his construction of a strategic military fortress named Dur Yahdun-Lim, near modern-day Deir el Zor, in order to secure his military accomplishments.²² He boasted, "... in a wasteland, a land of thirst, in which no king had ever built a city since days of old, I desired (it) and so I built a city. I dug its moat [and] called it Dur Yahdun-Lim."²³ The *raison d'être* for the construction of Dur Yahdun-Lim was not to protect or exploit any natural resources, but rather as Jonathan Safren has argued it was in response to pastoralist populations that traversed into and out of

cured (*gamarum*) the banks of the Euphrates (*ab Purattim*).” (97) *ma-sú-nu it-ba-al* 98) *ù ki-sa-ad pu-ra-tim ig-mu-ur-ma* [RIM 4.6.8.2])

²¹ 50) *ma-a-ti ú-ra-ap-pi-iš* 51) *iš_c-de ma-ri^{K1}* 52) *ù ma-ti-ia u-ki-in-ma*. The idea of broadening one's land is akin to the more explicit claim in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, where king conquering new populations described the nature of their newfound authority in terms of counting (*manûm*) newly conquered populations as the people of the *mât Aššur*. This Assyrian ideology practically meant that conquered populations were subject to corvée and other taxes, just as the populations of the Assyrian heartland under the authority of the king. Additional points of comparison between Mariote statecraft and that of the Neo-Assyrian period may be found in Durand, “Précurseurs syriens.”

²² For the importance of Dur Yahdun-Lim as a strategic military outpost, see Durand *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 119–20 and Safren, “Dūr Yahdun-Lim: The *raison d'être* of an Ancient Mesopotamian Fortress-City.”

²³ RIME 4 E4.6.8.1:35) *ù i-na sa-we-e* 36) *qá-qá-ar* 37) *na-aš-mi-im* 38) *ša iš-tu u₄-um sí-a-tim* 39) LUGAL *šum-šu* 40) *a-lam la i-pu-šu* 41) *a-na-ku la-la-am* 42) *ar-ši-i-ma* 43) *a-lam e-pu-úš* 44) *bi-rì-sú aḫ-ri* 45) BÀD-*ia-aḫ-du-li-im* 46) *šum-šu ab-bi...*

this region.²⁴ That is, this newly built fortress, Dur Yahdun-Lim, became the center for an administrative district over these newly conquered populations of the central Euphrates River Valley. In fact, it continued to serve as a crucial center throughout the reigns of both Yahdun-Lim and Yasmah-Addu. And during the reign of the latter, it was identified as a royal residence in the inscription of a governor (*šaknum*) from Terqa, who described Yasmah-Addu as the “king (LUGAL) of Dur Yasmah-Addu.”²⁵ Thus Yahdun-Lim’s military successes and building projects began to reshape the geopolitical landscape of the Euphrates River Valley north of Mari and in so doing began to develop what it meant to be the king at Mari.

While Yahdun-Lim’s military victories and the expansion of his political control northward, up the Euphrates River Valley, began to define what it meant to be the ruler at Mari, the control of the *ab Purattim* was still not clearly connoted by the designation “king of Mari.” Rather, this title continued to be used alongside several others. At the same time, the increasingly close correlation between kingship at Mari and the control of the central Euphrates region was reinforced in the following period, during the reigns of Shamshi-Adad and his sons, Yasmah-Addu and Ishme-Dagan. In a

²⁴ See Safren, “Dūr Yahdun-Līm: The *raison d’être* of an Ancient Mesopotamian Fortress-City.” This is nicely illustrated by the letter ARM 5.81: 5–19 (= Durand, LAPO 17 723) “The sheep of the mobile pastoralists and the *muškēnum* who belonging to the *ab Purattim* have crossed over to the wadis. Eleven herdsmen of Shamash-mushallim and Yummahammu clan’s pastoralists all crossed over. They are grazing (near) Dur Yasmah-Addu and downstream. Hopefully the rebellious Yamina will not fight with them nor humiliate (them).” (5) UDU.ĤÁ ša ḥa-na.MEŠ ù mu-*uš-ke-nim* 6) ša a-ab pu-ra-at-tim 7) a-na na-ḥa-li i-te-bi-ir 8) 11 LÚ.NA.GAD ^dUTU-mu-ša-lim 9) ù ḥa-na.MEŠ ia-ma-ḥa-mu-um 10) ka-lu-šu i-te-bir 11) dur^{KI} ia-ás-[m]a-ab ^dIM 12) ù ša-ap-li-iš-ma i-re-ú 13) as-sú-ur-ri DUMU ia-mi-na 14) sà-ar-ra-ru la iṣ-ša-ba-[u-šu-nu-ti-ma] 15) la ú-qá-la-lu!

²⁵ RIME 4 E4.6.11.2001: 5) LUGAL BÀD-ia-ás-ma-ab-^dIŠKUR. This inscription belongs to the governor of Terqa. Durand has suggested that Dur Yahdun-Lim may have been constructed as a new capital city by Yahdun-Lim, though this conclusion is far from certain, Durand, “La vallée du Habur,” 43–4.

copy of his commemorative inscription recovered from Mari, Shamshi-Adad connected his sovereignty over Mari with control of the *ab Purattim*, describing his authority in terms of “the land of Mari and the *ab Purattim*.”²⁶ The pairing of the land of Mari (*māt Mari*) with the *ab Purattim* summarized Shamshi-Adad’s authority as it extended from the environs of Mari along the central Euphrates River Valley. That Shamshi-Adad expressed his authority in terms of the land of Mari (*māt Mari*) rather than simply in terms of its city center is due to the fact that Mari was not the center of Shamshi-Adad’s state; Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan) served that role. The land of Mari, nevertheless, was important as a core region for the portion of Shamshi-Adad’s empire that stretched along the Euphrates River.²⁷ Moreover, that the designation ‘land’, *māt Mari*, was insufficient to connote the larger territory of the central Euphrates River Valley, or *ab Purattim*, is not surprising. For while the city of Mari dominated its immediately surrounding river valley to the north, the city of Terqa could delimit Mari’s political influence to the north.²⁸ During Shamshi-Adad’s reign the titulature “king of the land of Mari,” therefore, was not used as shorthand for authority over the *ab Purattim*, but the city nevertheless continued to be ideo-

²⁶ RIMA 1 A.0.39.4: 5) *ma-at ma-ri*[^{KI}] 6) *ù a-ab* ID.BU[RANUN.NA] (see also RIMA 1 A.0.39.5) Yasmah-Addu, who would come to rule at Mari, continued to frame the nature of his kingship by invoking the duality of his sovereignty over a city-center and over a river valley to as well. For example, in a letter to the god Nergal, Yasmah-Addu recounted a brief dynastic history of Mari that likely described his own authority in terms of a similar dyad of kingship over Mari and the *ab Purattim* (See ARM 1.3, though unfortunately, the precise phrasing of Yasmah-Addu’s titulature is not clear. Charpin and Durand [“prise du pouvoir,” 339] have restored 16’ [*a-al ma-ri*^{KI}] *ù a-[a]b* I7.BURANUN.NA X 17’ [*a-na qa-ti-šu tu-uš-te-er*). See also Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 119–122; Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 107–11.

²⁷ This was akin to the way in which Ekallatum helped to structure the stretches of his empire along the Tigris. See RIMA 1 A.0.39.1: 5–8.

²⁸ Terqa’s importance is clear from this city’s inclusion in both the titulature of Yahdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim. In fact, Yahdun-Lim’s tomb was located at Terqa and Zimri-Lim’s coronation took place at Terqa.

logically connected with the larger region of the *ab Purattim*, as a natural center for controlling the *ab Purattim*. Thus following a trajectory similar to that set by Yahdun-Lim, Shamshi-Adad and his son reinforced the association between Mari and the *ab Purattim* through their expressions of their political authority in their titlature.

When Zimri-Lim drove Yasmah-Addu from his palace and took up residence at Mari, he became a part of a centuries-old tradition in which the city had served as the center of political power among other well-known centers in Syro-Mesopotamia. The tradition of kingship into which Zimri-Lim grafted himself, however, was not static. The reigns of Yahdun-Lim, Shamshi-Adad, and Yasmah-Addu had innovated new ideological templates for expressing political authority as king (*šarrum*) at Mari while simultaneously maintaining some roots in the *šakkanakkum*-period. Thus as Zimri-Lim defined his kingship using the title "king of Mari" he situated himself into a long-standing political tradition reaching back into the *šakkanakkum*-period, while he was also able to adopt and adapt the ideology of kingship developed by Yahdun-Lim, Shamshi-Adad, and Yasmah-Addu.

In its most succinct form, Zimri-Lim's royal seals described his kingship in terms of the dyad "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists (*ḫana*).²⁹ In this titlature the claim to be "king of Mari" conveyed authority founded at the city that had served as the *šakkanakkum*-period political center.²⁹ At the same time, however, I believe this concise assertion secondarily connoted the king's control of the central Euphrates region.³⁰ This conclusion is deduced from the fact that by the time of Zimri-Lim's reign what it

²⁹ Fleming, "Kingship of City and Tribe Conjoined: Zimri-Lim at Mari."

³⁰ While this concise titlature does not describe Zimri-Lim's authority in terms of a *mārum* or *māt Mari*, the history of Mari and its connections with the central Euphrates during the reigns of Yahdun-Lim, Shamshi-Adad as well as in the longer forms of Zimri-Lim's titlature suggest that the phrase "King of Mari" not only denotes his political authority centered at the city itself, but also his control as it extended over the greater central Euphrates River Valley.

meant to be king at Mari had increasingly come to be associated with authority over the *ab Purattim*. That Zimri-Lim, too, considered the central Euphrates River Valley to be under his authority is clear from his ‘Icehouse inscription,’ in which he conspicuously echoes the titles found in Yahdun-Lim’s commemorative inscriptions: “king of Mari, [Tuttul] and the land of the [mobile pastoralists].”³¹ Likewise, one of the four royal seals also explicitly maintained that he was “the one who controls the *ab Purattim*.”³² And even in the letters, the *ab Purattim* was closely linked with the king’s political control centered at Mari. For example, Bannum, a tribal leader during the opening months of Zimri-Lim’s reign wrote to the king concerning reassignments and appointments of officials (especially the position of *abu bitim*) at locales along the central Euphrates. In concluding his report, then, he stated: “The city of Mari, the palace and the *ab Purattim* are well.”³³ Thus when Zimri-Lim elected to most simply express his political authority in terms of “Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists (*hana*),” it seems that he most clearly denoted his rule from the city center of Mari but also implied his control of the Euphrates River Valley.³⁴

³¹ RIME 4 E4.6.12.3: 3) LUGAL *ma-ri*^{KI} [*tu-ut-tu-ni*^{KI}] 4) *ù ma-a-at* [*ba-na*^{KI}].

³² RIME 4 E4.6.12.4: 4) *ga-mi-ir ab* I7.BURANUN.KI.

³³ ARM 26.6 79) [*a*]-*lum ma-ri*^{KI} *é-kál-lum* *ù a-ab pu-ra-tim* 80) [*lu-ni*] *ša-al-mu*.

³⁴ This secondary connotation may even have persisted in the centuries after Zimri-Lim’s reign, when the connection between Mari and the central Euphrates River Valley persisted in the political traditions of the region. For example, a small kingdom of Hana, which is documented in the following centuries, preserved several political memories from Zimri-Lim’s dynasty. For example, the kings from Hana continued the naming traditions of the eighteenth century, such as Ishar-Lim, Yag(g)id-Lim and Zimri-Lim (Rouault, “Cultures locales et influences extérieures.” 251; Podany, *The Land of Hana*, 4–13). Moreover, as late as the eleventh century a certain man named Tukulti-Mer, who ruled from Terqa, took the title “king of the land of Hana.” Amanda Podany has suggested that this title had come to designate the populations connected with the central Euphrates River Valley rather than mobile pastoralist populations, as it did

The central Euphrates Valley and Zimri-Lim's state

The above discussion of Zimri-Lim's title "king of Mari," in which Zimri-Lim conveyed his authority over the city as well as connoted his control over the larger central Euphrates River Valley, raises the issue of the state's apparatus along the central Euphrates. Zimri-Lim implemented generalized structures of authority, or a state apparatus, to administer the *ab Purattim* and its diverse populations. Most notably, Zimri-Lim appointed a *šapīṭum* ('governor') to serve in each of the four different districts (*baṣū*) along the Euphrates and Habur Rivers. These districts took their names for the central city within them, thus the four districts of the central Euphrates were Mari, Terqa, Saggaratum and Qattunan.³⁵ The authority of Zimri-Lim's *šapīṭū* was defined in relation to a city-center and these *šapīṭū* exercised their power over a *baṣum* and its populations that were administered from this city-center.³⁶ Zimri-Lim's *šapīṭū*, then,

during the reign of Zimri-Lim. If correct, it would be striking given that Tukulti-Mer also bore the title "king of the land of Mari." The duality of Tukul-Mer's titulature centuries after Zimri-Lim may have perpetuated, although certainly with some innovation, a long-standing political tradition in which kingship at Mari could connote authority over the populations of the central Euphrates River Valley. (Cf. however, Charpin, "Le << royaume de Hana >> : textes et histoire;" Durand and Marti, "Une attaque de Qatna par Sūhum et la question du << pays de Mari, >>" 131–2).

³⁵ The term *šapīṭum* as well as the related words *šīptum* and *šapaṭum* were used simply to convey the idea of 'exercising authority' (Marzal, "Provincial Governor at Mari"). The *šapīṭum* was not unique to the organization of Zimri-Lim's state; rather, *šapīṭū* are attested prior to Zimri-Lim's reign, under his predecessor Yasmah-Addu, and outside of Zimri-Lim's state, in the Habur triangle.

³⁶ The connections between the *šapīṭum*, his city center and the larger region (*baṣum*) are made explicit in the report made by the *šapīṭum* to the king, in which he included the salutation, 'the city of GN and the region (*baṣum*) are well' (see the many missives of Zimri-Addu in ARM(T) 27). Additionally, it should be noted that the position of *šapīṭum* could be held by a single family for more than one generation, as was the case at Terqa (see Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 158).

were primarily responsible for levying troops and collecting taxes³⁷ within their regions (*ḥaṣū*).

At the same time, the *ab Purattim* was greater than the sum of Zimri-Lim's four *ḥaṣū*. The most significant populations that stood outside of the *ḥaṣū*-system while still being a part of the larger *ab Purattim* were the Yamina polities. Adelina Millet Albà's research has significantly expanded our understanding of the demographic diversity of the central Euphrates River Valley.³⁸ Millet Albà has studied census lists of settlements in the Euphrates River Valley, roughly from modern-day Abu Kemal to the confluence of the Habur and Euphrates Rivers. Her work shows that this stretch of the Euphrates River Valley likely supported approximately 40,000–50,000 sedentary inhabitants and that the Yamina and Simal clustered in settlements across this landscape at ratio of 3:1, Simal to Yamina.³⁹ Yet the Yamina, who were located along the central Euphrates River Valley, often operated outside Zimri-Lim's system of *šāpīṭu*. They acted as semi-independent polities with their own tribal kings (*šarrum*),⁴⁰ though they collectively still helped to comprise the larger *ab Purattim* over which Zimri-Lim claimed authority. This sense of the *ab Purattim*, then, is consistent with the dominant use of the phrase found in the administrative texts from Mari,⁴¹ where it designates the permanent or more settled residents, in particular non-Simal tribal populations, from the Euphrates River Valley. Accordingly, the military was organized into the troops of the *ab Purattim* as opposed to the troops of the *ḥanūm*. And the king also

³⁷ See Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 157–159; for specifics pertaining to several of the governors from Zimri-Lim's reign, see Lion, "Les gouverneurs provinciaux du royaume de Mari."

³⁸ See also Durand, "Un centre bejaminite aux portes de Mari."

³⁹ Albà, "La localization des terroirs benyaminities," 230–1. For an instance of identifying a Simal settlement, see Charpin, "Sapīratum, ville de Suhūm."

⁴⁰ See Durand, "Peuplement," 159; see also Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 164; Fleming, "Kingship of City and Tribe Conjoined: Zimri-Lim at Mari."

⁴¹ Many instances could be listed, but note, for example, *FM* 10. 80, 81, 86.

took a share of the *sugāgūtum*-tax, which was paid in keeping with a distinction between the *sugāgū*-leaders of the *ab Purattim* and the *sugāgū*-leaders of the *ḥanūm*.⁴² In sum, then, the *ab Purattim* was a network of populations connected to the central Euphrates River Valley that were organized into both *ḥalṣū* as well as clusters of Yamina polities that were subject to the king of Mari.

ZIMRI-LIM AND HIS MOBILE PASTORALISTS (ḤANŪM)

Zimri-Lim not only took the title “king over Mari,” but also “king... of the land of the mobile pastoralists.” In fact, Zimri-Lim claimed to be the mobile pastoralist *par excellence* in his so-called ‘Epic,’ insisting that he was “... the preeminent one of the mobile pastoralists.”⁴³ In language that anticipated the images of mobile pastoralists found in the *Erra and Išum Epic*, Zimri-Lim portrayed himself as a ferocious warrior and fearless leader of the pastoralists:

Until the king had reached his objective and has trampled Ida-Maras under his feet, he does not drink the water of goatskins, he is not uncomfortable stationed with the troops—his expedition (is that) of great hunters. As the onager (eats) the straw of the steppe, (so) his men devour raw meat. They took heart (and) grew strong(er). Zimri-Lim goes as a standard before them. He turned back and will give courage to those without courage. ‘Be strong! Enter! The enemy will see your discipline!’⁴⁴

⁴² For a discussion of how the king incorporated this local custom into a financial benefit for the palace, see Marti, *Nomades et sédentaires à Mari*, 10–11.

⁴³ *a-ša-ri-id ḥa-na* (from the so-called ‘Epic of Zimri-Lim,’ cited in Charpin and Durand, “La prise du pouvoir,” 328 n.159).

⁴⁴ 112) *a-di ša ik-šu-du ḥa-da-an-šu* LUGAL 113) *ù i-da-ma-ra-aš ú-ka-an-ni-iš aš-še-pí-šu* 114) *me-e na-da-tim iš-ta-na-at-ti* 115) *e-si-ik it-ti re-di-i ka-lum-ma iš-šu-uš* 116) *ra-ab-bu bal(MA) -ia-ru wa-ši-šu-<nu>* 117) *ki-ma si-ir-ra-m[š]-im pé-e še-ru-um* 118) *ši-ra-am i-ku-lu mu-tu-šu* 119) *li-ib-ba-am ir-šu-ú da-na-na-am uš-bu* 120) *zī-im-ri-li-im ki-ma šu-ri-nim ip-pa-na i-la-ak* 121) *is-ḥu-ur a-na la li-bi-im i-na-ad-di-in li-ib-ba-am* 122) *di-in-na-ma i-te-ru-ba* 123) *iš-de-ku-nu i-im-ma*

The word from Zimri-Lim's titlature as well as in the portion of the 'Epic' noted above that is translated 'mobile pastoralist' is *ḥanûm*. While this word is polyvalent in the parlance at Mari, its fundamental meaning was associated with mobile populations that practiced animal herding in order to subsist, or mobile pastoralists.⁴⁵ At the same time, from an insider perspective of Zimri-Lim and his tribe of the Simal, the word *ḥanûm* was shorthand for members of the Simal tribe.⁴⁶ The rationale for this shorthand was that the substantial portions of the Simal practiced mobile pastoralism as subsistence strategy and like Zimri-Lim in his 'Epic' considered themselves the quintessential mobile pastoralists.

Because the Mariote king not only ruled over the mobile pastoralists but also identified himself as one of them, a discussion of mobile pastoralism is important for a treatment of the socio-political landscape during Zimri-Lim's reign. Pastoralism refers to a mode of subsistence that involved raising livestock for resources such as foodstuffs and raw materials (wool, hair, skins) through the exploitation of pastures.⁴⁷ Pastoralism was rarely practiced without complementary agricultural strategies. Pure pastoral nomadism, which almost altogether eschews agricultural practices, comprised a negligible portion of society prior to the widespread domestication

ar na-ak-rum. (Cited in Marelllo, "Vic Nomad," 122 n 9; translated in Durand *Annuaire* 2005-6).

⁴⁵ Durand compared *ḥanûm* to the West-Semitic root $\sqrt{h}n'$ meaning 'to pitch a tent, to encamp,' and noted that it qualified various groups, such as the Simal, Yamina, Turukku, and Urapu. Thus *ḥanûm* is not typically a tribal designation co-relative with Simal or Yamina as once thought (cf. the previous conclusions in Charpin and Durand, "Fils de Simal," 152-156; Anbar, *Les tribus amurrites de Mari*). At the same time, there may be some instances where the term does have tribal connotations in addition to designating mobile pastoralists, a conclusion anticipated by Gelb long ago ("History of the West Semitic Peoples," 37; see also Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 34-7).

⁴⁶ Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 418.

⁴⁷ See Bar Yosef and Khazanov, *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives*, 2.

of the camel in the first millennium BCE.⁴⁸ Rather, pastoralists of the second millennium employed a multi-resource strategy for subsistence in which they utilized additional means alongside their reliance on animals and animal products.⁴⁹ As Ofer Bar Yosef and Anatoly Khazanov have described it,

[A] mobile and extensive animal husbandry [was] not necessarily divergent from agriculture... Pastoralism embraces different types and forms ranging from a mixed economy to herdsman husbandry... and ultimately to semi-nomadism...⁵⁰

In sum, pastoralisms belong to a spectrum of subsistence strategies; the various forms of pastoralism differ in the degrees to which each practices herding and produces animal by-products.

During the reign of Zimri-Lim, mobile pastoralist comingled with more sedentary populations along the banks of the river (*ab nārim*), where irrigation was practiced through the construction and maintenance of canals. For example, certain tribal leaders among the mobile pastoralists, like the Simal *merhūm* Ibal-pi-El, were involved in this region, being invested in agricultural production to some degree. Ibal-pi-El was typically among the mobile pastoralists (*ḥanūm*). At the same time, he owned cultivable land in the *ab Purattim*, although he complained that they were insufficient since his landholdings in the upper Jezira had been adversely affected by political conflicts there.⁵¹ He compared his situation to that of another high-ranking official under Zimri-Lim: “Asqudum possess 1000 *iku* of fields in the *ab Purattim*; but as for me, I (have only) 50 *iku* of fields in the *ab Purattim*! I, indeed, am made to purchase grain

⁴⁸ See Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, esp. chapters 2–3.

⁴⁹ Salzman, “Movement and Resource Extraction among Pastoral Nomads.”

⁵⁰ Bar Yosef and Khazanov, *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives*, 2–3.

⁵¹ The crucial verb in the opening lines of *ARM* 2.28 (= LAPO 17.830) is spelled *ut-ta-AZ-ZI-IK* (l. 7) and has been reviewed by Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 644, n. b).

in the *ab Purattim*!”⁵² While Ibal-pi-El may have lamented his allotment of 50 *iku* of fields in the *ab Purattim* as paltry, his complaint nevertheless reveals that at least some mobile pastoralists did control cultivable land in this region. And another instance of mobile pastoralists’ involvement in the fertile agricultural floodplain of the Euphrates seems to have involved the Simal *sugāgu*, who were allowed to cultivate, if not settle, in the Euphrates floodplain through the process of a *sugāgūtum* tax paid to the king.⁵³

The intensification of an agricultural strategy among Simal mobile pastoralist leaders, like *sugāgu* and *merhū*, likely reflected the Simal king’s interest in accruing surplus production that could be leveraged as political capital. Such a strategy by Zimri-Lim and the Simal would be comparable to the situation described by Abbas Alizadeh among mobile pastoralists in Iran. In Iran, Alizadeh has noted that the mobile pastoralist Qashqai and the Bakhtiari tribes actively sought the,

[A]cquisition of land and the integration of farming into pastoral economy... [which provided] a much more secure and manageable source of surplus... [so that they were] in a posi-

⁵² 10) *Más-qú-du-um 1 li-im* IKU A.ŠÀ 11) *i-na* GÚ I₇.BURANUN.NA *ša-bi-ù* 12) *ù a-na-ku* 50 IKU A.ŠÀ *i-na* GÚ I₇.BURANUN.NA 13) [*ša*]-*ab-ta-a-ku*.

⁵³ See Marti, *Nomades et sédentaires à Mari*, esp. 15–6. M.6060, which it is tempting to identify as a loyalty oath for a *merhūm*, recurrently raises the issue of pasture rights (*rītum*). The loyalty oath that is sworn to Zimri-Lim includes the declaration “... Any untoward word that I hear in the mouth of the mobile pastoralists of the steppe or in the mouth of the people of the cities, saying ‘Zimri-Lim and his heir will not exercise authority over us’”... [I will repeat it to the king].’ (21’) *ú-lu a-wa-tam la da-mi-iq-tam* 22’) [*ša*] *pí-i* ^{LÚ}*ba-na*.MEŠ *ša na-we-e-im* 23’) [*ú-lu*]-*ma i-na pí-i* LÚ.MEŠ *ša a-la-ni* 24’) [*ša e-še₁₀*]-*mu-ú um-ma-mi zī-im-ri-lī-im* 25’) [*ù pí*]-*ri-ib-šu ú-ul i-ša-ap-p[a]-r[ú]-né-[i]* 26’) [*i-n*]-*a ma-ru-uš-ti zī-im-ri-lī-im* 27’) [*pí-i*]-*r-ib-šu ú-ul uš-ta-mar-[ra-aš-ma]* (cited in Durand, “Précurseurs,” 50–3). In this case, the dichotomy between steppe and city populations may be a hendiadys that acknowledges the fluid subsistence patterns of the populations during Zimri-Lim’s reign. Durand, however, has suggested it is an oath for mobile pastoralists (Durand, “Précurseurs,” 50–3).

tion to use the coercion that would be necessary for the development and maintenance of state organizations.⁵⁴

A comparable state-sponsored program may have encouraged mobile pastoralists' to more extensively cultivate the irrigable floodplain of the Euphrates during the reign of Zimri-Lim. Thus political elites among the Simal tribe, such as the *merhûm* and *sugagû*, would have accumulated the means for agricultural production—that is, land allotments—in order to secure stable revenues for the king.⁵⁵

In addition to acquiring and owning cultivable lands in the Euphrates River Valley, many mobile pastoralists' routes transected the fertile pasturelands adjacent to the river valley. They traversed into and out of the Euphrates River Valley as they moved to and from pasturelands in the adjacent steppe.⁵⁶ In such instances, mobile pastoralists were economically, socially and politically intertwined with the settled populations in the region. Mobile pastoralists carried with them livestock and animal byproducts for exchange in permanent or occasional markets found in the settlements of the river valley. These mobile populations sought, among other things, grain and other agricultural products from the more sedentary populations. The symbiosis between mobile pastoralists and sedentary populations is perhaps even clearer in the upper Jezira, for example, where a Simal *merhûm* reveals mobile pastoralists' involvement in a formalized exchange for grain known as the *šepâtîm*: "I oversee the (Simal) pastoralists and like the merchant who goes about during war and peace, the pastoralists goes about for the *šepâtîm*-exchange during war and peace."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Alizadeh, "The Rise of the Highland Elamite State in Southwestern Iran," 361.

⁵⁵ Barth, "A General Perspective on Nomad-Sedentary Relations," esp. 17–8 observed the pattern of dominant tribal groups securing and dispersing cultivable land and, in turn, settling mobile contingents of their tribe in order to ensure a steady and reliable stream of resources.

⁵⁶ See, for example *ARM* 5.81, cited above in note 24.

⁵⁷ A.350+: 3) *ḥa-na.MEŠ ša-a[p-ra-ku]* 4) *ù ki-ma LÚ tam-ka-ri-im ša bi-r[i-iš]* 5) *nu-ku-ur-tim ù sa-lî-[mi-im]* 6) *i-la-ku-ma {me} ḥa-na.ME<Š> i-na še-*

Related to the degree that pastoralists' relied upon animal herding for subsistence was the nature of their mobility. Two dominant types of pastoral mobility are well attested in the Middle East and would have been likely strategies during the second millennium BCE as well. First, vertical pastoralism involved moving herds from the well-watered lowlands in the winter to higher elevations during the dry summer months. This practice is documented, for example, in the southern Levant's hill country as well as in the Zagros Mountains of Iran. Horizontal pastoralism, by comparison, mobilized herds between the rain-fed steppe in the winter and more verdant agricultural zones during the summer. In the sources at Mari, several patterns of pastoralist mobility have been discerned. First, horizontal pastoralism best describes the mobile herding populations of the central Euphrates River Valley and their movements back and forth from the fertile agricultural lands of the Habur triangle. At the same time, more regional forms of vertical pastoralism were no doubt practiced in the Habur triangle, or Idamaras, making use of highlands such as the Hemma Plateau, Jebel Kaukab, and Tur Abdin Mountains.

The tribes of Zimri-Lim's reign

Having introduced mobile pastoralism as a subsistence strategy it is also important to briefly delineate the prominent tribal groups from Zimri-Lim's reign. Tribal identity, as several other scholars have also emphasized, is a distinct form of socio-political solidarity and should not be confused with—and is not necessarily connected to—any specific subsistence strategy. In other words, membership in a tribe did not exclude belonging to a particular subsistence group, either settled or pastoralist.⁵⁸ Many tribes are documented across Syro-Mesopotamia during Zimri-Lim's reign, but the two

pa-a-[tim bi-ri-iš] 7) nu-ku-ur-tim ù sa-lì-mi-im i-la-[ku] (following Guichard, "Le Šubartum," 161–2). See the section "Simal Mobile Pastoralists' Interactions with Sedentary Populations in the Habur" below for additional discussion of the *šepātum*.

⁵⁸ Most consistently this idea is emphasized in the work Anne Porter (see, for example, her recent book *Mobile Pastoralism and the Making of Near Eastern Civilization*). See also, Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 26–32.

best-known tribes are the Yamina and Simal. The Yamina was comprised of several sub-groups (*limū*): Uprapum, Yahrurum, Amnanum, Yarih, and Rabbum. The Simal, by comparison, were divided into two clan groups known as *gayūm*: Yabasu and Asharugayum.⁵⁹ Because portions of these tribes practiced mobile pastoralism and traversed tribal *nighū*, tribal populations were not necessarily connected with geographically contiguous regions. For example, within the *ah Purattim*, the Yamina were closely tied to urban centers within the districts of Saggaratum, Terqa, and Mari. Although that at least some Yamina practiced a form of mobile pastoralism is clear from the fact they were also found in the western reaches of Yamhad and Qatna and as far east as the northeastern Habur and the region of the Jebel Sinjar.⁶⁰ Likewise, the Simal, another dominant tribe from Zimri-Lim's reign, was associated with the central districts in the *ah Purattim* and, at the same time, large portions of this tribe that were highly mobile pastoralists traversed back and forth between the central Euphrates River Valley and the upper Jezira.

Tribal solidarity, mobile pastoralism, and the construction of territoriality

While tribal identity and subsistence strategies should not be conceptually confused, the convergences of these factors among populations of the second millennium significantly shaped the landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign. In fact, the relationship between these factors, especially the practice of mobile pastoralism among substantial portions of tribal groups, helps to better understand Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists." Highly mobile pastoralists belonging to different tribal groups repeatedly used the same routes and, in turn, helped to forge socio-

⁵⁹ Fleming (*Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 43–7) noticed variation in terminology used to describe the tribal groups of the Yamina and Simal, particularly *gayūm* (Simal) and *limum* (Yamina); see also Durand ("Peuplement," 177–79).

⁶⁰ See Anbar, "La distribution géographique des Bini-Yamina," 23–24.

political connections across the far-flung pasturelands that extended from the regions of the central Euphrates to the Habur triangle.

Nighum is a term that is central to understanding the mobile pastoralists' sense of territory as it was structured by their patterned movements.⁶¹ This word is unique to the sources from Mari among the Akkadian corpora.⁶² The important letter A.2730, which was sent from the *merḥūm*-leader, Ibal-El, to Zimri-Lim, perhaps best illustrates the concept of the *nighum*. The pertinent portion of this missive reads:

Just as the land of Yamhad, the land of Qatna and the land of Amurru are the customary pastoral route (*nighum*) of the Yamina and in that land the Yamina are sated with grain and they graze their pastures, likewise, from the distant past, Ida-Maras is the traditional pastoral route of the (Simal) mobile pastoralists... It is—and has (always) been—my customary pastoral route (*nighū*).⁶³

⁶¹ Cf. the Bedouin of Egypt who referred to their territories as *dira* (Aharoni, "Bedouin and Mamluks in Egypt—Co-existence in a State of Duality," 65).

⁶² The term *nighum* is attested in the construct form spelled *ni-gi-iḫ*, making it clear that it is a *pīrs*-type noun related to the Akkadian root √ngh (Durand, "Peuplement," 120; also "Unité et diversités," 106 n.66). Durand has also signaled that the term is used in the plural with reference to the Yaminite *nighū* ("Peuplement," 120, n. 50). Etymologically, several solutions have been proposed to help explain this term. Fleming, for example, has suggested that it be connected with Hebrew √ng', 'to touch,' whereas Durand correlates it with an Arabic root √nj', which connotes the idea of 'foraging.' Another plausible cognate that has not been noted is the Ugaritic verb √ngy, meaning 'to depart.'

⁶³ 33) *ki-ma ma-at ia-am-ḫa-ad*^{K1} *ma-at qa-tá-nim*^{K1} 34) *ù ma-at a-mu-ri-im*^{K1} *ni-ig-ḫu-um* 35) *ša DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na ù i-na ma-tim še-ti* 36) *DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na še-em i-ša-bi-i ù na-wu-šu-nu i-re-i-em* 37) *ù iš-tu da-ar-ka-tim ni-ig-ḫu-um* 38) *ša ḫa-na.MEŠ i-da-ma-ra-aš...* 48) *ni-ig-ḫi iš-tu pa-na šu-ú*. A full transcription of this letter may be found below in chapter five (note 40), where it is treated at greater length.

In this context, the *nighum* is described relative to geopolitical boundaries that were defined by lands (*mātātu*), while the *nighum*, itself, seems to represent an alternate means for conceptualizing space and politics. From the perspective of the *merhūm*, the *nighum* seems to refer to the regions and the routes that connected the grazing lands that pastoralists used for herding their flocks. Moreover, Ibal-El reveals that the *nighum* was determined or decided by traditional use route and, thereby had developed into territorial claims made by tribal groups of mobile pastoralists. And according to the *merhūm* the Yamina tribe's *nighum* spanned several polities in western Syria, whereas the Simal's *nighum* was primarily found in the region of Ida-Maras, which was home to many smaller states.⁶⁴

Because the territoriality that the *nighum* represented does not seem to have consisted of a homogenous and contiguous region, a network model for understanding ancient politics as well as ethnographic data from modern Bedouin can throw additional light on the ancient idea of the mobile pastoralist's sense of territory. The work of the anthropologist Monica L. Smith, in particular, is useful for thinking about the *nighum*. Smith has sought to reshape the perception of ancient political authority from 'blob-like' territories to "spiky, node-and-connector model of political interactions..."⁶⁵ She suggests that traditional maps which depict discretely bounded geo-political entities often flatten the dynamic socio-political means that connect spaces to one another. To the contrary, Smith argues that ancient political authorities often expanded through networks across non-contiguous territories, not uniformly like an oil stain spreads across paper.⁶⁶ Looking, then, at two case studies (the Inka and Sassanians) she shows in each instance how authority was efficient and strategic in the ways it was extended to create a political landscape.

⁶⁴ Generally defined by Charpin as the region between the Jaghjagh and upper Habur triangle ("Une ville du pays d'Apum," 118).

⁶⁵ Smith, "Networks Territories, and the Cartography of Ancient States," 838.

⁶⁶ The metaphor, likely familiar to Assyriologists, is taken from Liverani, "Growth of the Assyrian Empire," 84–5.

Smith's insistence that there are many ways in which socio-political solidarity can transcend contiguous space helps to conceptualize how mobile pastoralists made claims to expansive stretches of land during the reign of Zimri-Lim. At the same time, the work of Eveline Johanna van der Steen can be used to contextualize Smith's network in the region of the Near East. Van der Steen has studied modern Bedouin and charted their patterned movement across the Jordanian Plateau into the southern Levant. She observed that mobile populations of the nineteenth century followed customary routes across the plateau and into Cis-Jordan.⁶⁷ As van der Steen has observed, key locales helped to structure the pastoralists' routes and in the case of the Bedouin who traversed the Jordanian Plateau, the site of Deir Alla was crucial for organizing their routes.⁶⁸ Nodes like Deir Alla were repeatedly visited and, therefore, provided a fixed point that structured the interstices of space that stretched across these populations' traditional routes. Van der Steen's research, then, is remarkably congruent with the model developed by Smith. Smith opened up the possibility for space being socio-politically organized in non-contiguous and often counter-intuitive ways, whereas van der Steen has emphasized the practical ways in which these stretched spaces were held together by key territorial nodes that served as strategic and effective means for organizing the territoriality of mobile populations.

As it concerns the data from Mari, that the term *nighum* conveyed a stretched sense of space is clear from the letter quoted above in which it was defined by reference to broad swaths of the geo-political landscape during Zimri-Lim's reign. Furthermore, from other sources several nodes can also be identified that functioned much like Deir Alla served for the Bedouin of the Jordanian Plateau. These nodes were specific locales that helped to organize the stretched space of the mobile pastoralists during Zimri-Lim's reign. For the Simal mobile pastoralists, in particular, three encampments across Syro-Mesopotamia, each of which shared the name *Der*, can be understood as sites that helped to organize the *nighum*. The most prominent of these settlements was located in

⁶⁷ van der Steen, *Tribes and Territories In Transition*, 76–92.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, esp. 199.

northern Mesopotamia, to the west of the Habur triangle, along the Balih River. At the same time, there were at least two other locales also designated by the name Der, this being the result of “toponymie en miroir,” or the phenomenon of place names that are duplicated across north-south and east-west axes in Syro-Mesopotamia during the Middle Bronze Age.⁶⁹

It has been suggested by several scholars that these “toponymie en miroir” were perhaps the result of population migrations across Syro-Mesopotamia.⁷⁰ Yet Anne Porter has offered an alternative interpretation of these locales. She suggests that these instances of “toponymie en miroir” are reflections of mobile pastoralist movements and the nodes that helped them to bridge the stretched spaces of Syro-Mesopotamia.⁷¹ Porter has in fact convincingly argued for a similar situation at work in the landscape of the Early Bronze Age, when pastoralist tribes utilized burial practices at Tells Banat and Cheura as a ritual for reinforcing solidarity among these populations as they traveled across vast distances.⁷² That the Middle Bronze Age phenomenon of “toponymie en miroir,” at least in some instances, reveals central nodes that helped to structure mobile pastoralists’ perceptions of what the texts call a *nighum* is supported by the function of at least two of the settlements known as Der for the Simal mobile pastoralists. First, in the upper Jezira, Der was a traditional center for the Simalite tribe, serving as a strategic locale between the regions of Ida-Maras and Zalmaqum, as well as a lucrative economic outpost located near the salt mines of Manahatum. Second, another locale also known as Der, situated downstream from Mari, was equally as important for

⁶⁹ See Charpin, “La << toponymie en miroir. >>” In addition to the Der along the Balih, there was a Der south of Mari along the Euphrates and one in the foothills of the Zagros, across the Tigris.

⁷⁰ Charpin, “La << toponymie en miroir, >>” 15; also Porter, “Beyond Dimorphism,” 204.

⁷¹ Porter, “Beyond Dimorphism,” 207. Porter, for her part, emphasizes the fictive elements of kinship created through such rituals.

⁷² Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*, 44–64; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Making of Near Eastern Civilization*, especially chapter one.

Simal tribal activity. This Der was a center for religious rituals, about which Durand and Guichard have noted:

Il faut donc supposer que les cérémonies de Dêr jouaient un rôle déterminant parmi les rites fondateurs de la monarchie bensim'alite... Les rites accomplis à Dêr devaient donc, d'une façon ou d'une autre, mimer ceux du terroir d'origine, où une partie des ancêtre avaient vécu et devaient reposer, et il est dès lors très important que les rites de Dêrîtum aient comporté une commémoration mortuaire.⁷³

Together, then, the Der located in the upper Jezira and the Der located south of Mari would have served as nodes that unified the interstices along the traditional routes. The rituals performed at the southern Der and the strong tribal connection with the northern Der reinforced the sense of pastoralist territoriality that stretched between them. Thus akin to how Smith and van der Steen have conceptualized and described the construction of space in other periods and regions, the two towns of Der, among others, helped to create a Simal mobile pastoralists' sense of territoriality known as the *nighum*.

"King of... the land of the mobile pastoralists" (*ḥanûm*)

Having treated the subsistence patterns and tribal solidarities from Zimri-Lim's reign, it is now possible to return to Zimri-Lim's titulary. Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists" raises two interpretive issues. First, the word *mārum* ('land') must be rendered intelligible as a feature of mobile pastoralist. Fleming has helpfully foregrounded the word's associations with populations, but I believe it can also be connected with a territorial connotation as well. In particular, the *nighum* and the ways in which the Simal pastoralists configured the interstices of land as they practiced mobile pastoralism should be correlated with what Zimri-Lim considered his mobile pastoralists' land (*mārum*). At the same time, this conclusion about the 'land' of the *ḥanûm* gestures

⁷³ Durand and Guichard, "Les rituels," 39–40.

toward a second issue: ‘who are the mobile pastoralists in view in Zimri-Lim’s titulature?’

First, and foremost it should be recognized that the *ḥanûm* denoted by Zimri-Lim’s claim to be “king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists” are Simal mobile pastoralists. That this is correct is confirmed by Zimri-Lim’s own membership among the Simal as well as the presence of mobile pastoralists within the Simal tribe, as already noted. Additionally, the term *ḥanûm* was frequently used as shorthand by Zimri-Lim and his administration to refer to the Simal in the letters from Mari.⁷⁴ And the Simal’s associations with the *ḥanûm* is seemingly corroborated by Hammurabi of Babylon, who described Zimri-Lim as “the king of the Simal,”⁷⁵ glossing the Mariote king’s well-known claim to be “king of the land of the mobile pastoralists (*ḥana*)” with the tribal name Simal. Thus, to be sure, Zimri-Lim’s claim to be “king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists” was in large part a statement about his tribal connections with the Simal.

At the same time, it must not go unnoticed that Zimri-Lim elected to alter the titulature of his father, Yahdun-Lim, who had chosen to be known as “king of the land of the Simal.” Thus again the diachronic context of Zimri-Lim’s titulature helpfully informs our understanding of it. That is, Zimri-Lim slightly modified the titulature of Yahdun-Lim and restated his authority in terms of the mobile pastoralists: “king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists (*ḥana*).” And in this subtle alteration one finds an intentional equivocation or broadening of the meaning of this phrase. As already noted, on the one hand, because the word *ḥanûm* could be used as shorthand for Simal pastoralists, Zimri-Lim certainly continued to

⁷⁴ Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 418.

⁷⁵ *ARM* 26.385. This sentiment is likely to be understood as an echo of the sentiment found in Yahdun-Lim’s titulature, in which he was designated the “king of Mari and the land of the Simalites” on the seal of one of his daughters found at Acemhöyük, west of the Taurus mountains (RIME 4 E4.6.8.6.) and more recently in a published scribal exercise found at Mari (TH00-T68, published by Cavigneaux and Colonna d’Istria, “Les découvertes épigraphiques des fouilles récentes de Mari. État des recherches en janvier 2009,” 53).

communicate the ideas found in his father's titulature, namely an appeal to the Simal as a primary political constituency. On the other hand, however, *ḥanûm* also could function as an all-purpose designation for mobile pastoralists, irrespective of tribal identity. Consequently, the use of the term *ḥanûm* in Zimri-Lim's title may have been intended to conjure and reinforce tribal solidarity among the Simal, while it simultaneously appealed to non-Simalite mobile pastoralist populations (*ḥanûm*) whose interests may have been partially shaped by their subsistence patterns in addition to their tribal identity.

The following chapters will discuss how inter-tribal relations shaped Zimri-Lim's reign, but at this point it should be noted that several tribes besides the Simal had contingents of mobile pastoralists that helped to carve up the landscape of Syro-Mesopotamia. Besides the Yamina, who have already been briefly discussed above, Numha and Yamut-bal were two additional tribal groups that helped to shape the complex world of Syro-Mesopotamia. Moreover, it is known that very early in Zimri-Lim's reign, Bannum, a Simalite *merḥûm*-leader, led contingents of Simal mobile pastoralists and acted in concert with the Numha and Yamut-bal:

And when the (Simal) pastoralists were pressuring you (Zimri-Lim) to appoint another *merḥûm*, saying: 'When Bannum was our *merḥûm*, he dwelt along the along the Euphrates' banks, (now) we will appoint another *merḥûm*.' Previously he (Bannum) settled (himself) in the pastures (*nawûm*) and he secured the foundations of the Simal, Numha, (and) Yamut-bal. Then, he came to the banks of the Euphrates, caused fortresses to be opened, and established your (the Simal pastoralists') foundations along the banks of the Euphrates.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ A.1098: 6') ù šum-[ma^{LÚ}]ḥa-na a-na me-er-[ḫi-]m ša-ni-im-ma ša-ka-nim 7') ik-ta^rab⁷-ta-ku-um um-ma-m[i iš-]u-ma ba-an-nu-um me-er-ḫu-ni 8') i-na a-ab pu-ra-at-tim na-ši-ib [me-er]-ḫe-em ša-né-em-ma ni-ša-ka-an 9') at-[a k]e-em a-pu-ul-šu-nu-ti um-ma at-ta-ma pa-na-nu-um i-na na-wi-im ú-ši-ib-ma 10') iš-di [DUM]U si-im-a-al nu-um-ḫa-a ia-mu-ut-ba-a^{KI} ú^r-ki-in-ma 11') a-na a-ab pu-ra-at-tim út-ta-al-kam-ma 12') da-[an]-na-tim^{KI} ú-še-ep-ti-ma iš-di-ku-nu i-na a-ab pu-ra-tim ú-ki-in.

This missive reveals that Bannum helped to establish not only Zimri-Lim and the Simal tribe's political foundation at Mari, but also those of the Numha and Yamut-bal dynasties at Kurda and Andarig respectively. As will be shown in the following chapters, the connections between the Simal, Numha, and Yamut-bal were of central importance to Zimri-Lim's efforts in international politics.

The Numha tribe was closely associated with the state centered at Kurda, which was located in the western Sinjar. At the same time, Numha populations could also be found along the Wadi Tharthar (Qattara), the adjacent regions of the Tigris (Ekallatum), and as far west as the region of Zalmaqum.⁷⁷ In light of the widespread Numha population, it is not surprising that the king of Kurda bore a dual title that was similar to Zimri-Lim's titulature. In keeping with geo-political realities, he had the title, "king of Kurda," while he was also called "king of the land of the Numha," which was a claim to sovereignty over tribal, pastoralist populations, akin to Zimri-Lim's titulature "king of the land of the mobile pastoralists." Like the Simal, the Numha also consisted of a mobile pastoralist contingent. This is alluded to by the name of one of the kings of the Numha, Simah-Ilani, which is attested with the variant spelling 'Sima-Ilu, the Pastoralist (*ḥanûm*).⁷⁸ As for the Yamut-bal tribe, it was divided into Upper Yamut-bal and Lower Yamut-bal, a distinction that may correspond with two segments within the

⁷⁷ For a discussion of Numha populations in northern Mesopotamia see Heimpel, *Letters to the King*, 17–8 and also Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 105–9, 131–2. The region of Zalmaqum should be included because of the presence of the king of Aparha, Larim-Numha, who only a few years prior to Zimri-Lim's accession had led his kingdom in rebellion against the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Further evidence for the dispersal of the Numha throughout Mesopotamia is their inclusion in the "Genealogy of the Hammurabi dynasty," published by Finkelstein. Its relevance for the landscape of tribal populations during Zimri-Lim's reign, however, is not easily determined.

⁷⁸ *si-ma-il-a-ḥa-né-e-im* (ARM 10.5; see also the commentary in Durrand, *Les documents épistolaires* 18, 433).

tribe.⁷⁹ Upper Yamut-bal was associated with the Sinjar polity of Andarig, about twenty kilometers southeast from the prominent Numha state of Kurda. Geographically, Upper Yamut-bal, as Wolfgang Heimpel explains, was "... bordered by Numha in the north (Qattara) and east (Ekallatum) and Akkadian Assyrians (Ashur) in the south."⁸⁰ Lower Yamut-bal (Emut-bal), by comparison, was associated with the region of Mashkan-shapir and more generally with the state centered at Larsa.⁸¹

In sum, the complex subsistence strategy of the Simal and their *nighum* helped to configure a territoriality that better explains what Zimri-Lim intended by his claim to be "king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists." The primary association of the word *ḥanūm* used in his titlature, then, is in keeping with the perspective of Zimri-Lim and his tribesmen, who considered themselves to be the quintessential *ḥanūm*. At the same time, I would suggest that the very fact that Zimri-Lim modified the previous titlature of Yahdun-Lim, who claimed he was "king of... the land of the Simal," suggests that Zimri-Lim at least left open the possibility for an extra-Simal interpretation of his title as more inclusive of other groups of mobile pastoralists. This latter meaning, while certainly secondary, would not have been inconsequential, since as the following chapters will develop further, Zimri-Lim's inter-tribal relations were integral to his political successes.

THE POLITICS OF 'ENCLOSING NOMADISM' AND SEDENTARY-MOBILE PASTORALIST INTERACTIONS

Having discussed how Zimri-Lim expressed his authority over the complex socio-political landscape as "both king of Mari and of the land of mobile pastoralists," I will now look more closely at mobile

⁷⁹ ARM 26.404; cf. the Sinjar being described as the *ḥaḷsum* of the Yamut-bal and Numha in ARM 10.157.

⁸⁰ Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 17–18; see also, Joannès, "L'organisation de l'espace en Irak du nord (région du Sinjar) au début du II^e millénaire av. J.-C."

⁸¹ Charpin, ARM(I) 26/2, 148; Steinkeller, "A History of Mashkan-shapir," 26–42.

pastoralists' interactions with sedentary populations during his reign. More specifically, I am interested in teasing out Ruggie's polemic against evolutionary models of society which is quoted at the outset of this chapter, and considering how "territory was *occupied* in kin-based systems, but it [alone] did not *define* them."⁸² According to the evolutionary models that Ruggie has in view, all political systems that do not operate according to a post-Westphalian sense of territoriality, in which political territories are discretely bounded, are 'primitive.' Yet Ruggie notes that such approaches fail to consider the many complex ways in which political authority operates.⁸³ Having outlined how Zimri-Lim united a collective of persons—such as those of the *ḫalsū*, Yamina, and Simal populations—and how his state was not necessarily defined in terms of conventional territoriality, the three case studies that follow will investigate how mobile populations with their stretched sense of territoriality helped shape the socio-political landscapes as they constrained and empowered sedentary populations.

The idea that mobile pastoralism significantly catalyzed and constrained settled populations was developed in contrast to a model introduced by Michael Rowton. Rowton's writing shaped the discussion of pastoralism in the Near East, both ancient and modern, perhaps more than any other scholar. Rowton's highly interdisciplinary work reached many scholars and had a profound influence on anthropologists, archaeologists and historians. His influence was aided by the fact that he rigorously and programmatically published seventeen articles that outlined his understanding of the 'dimorphic structure' of Near Eastern society. He was an astute observer of the socio-political complexity that characterized the Near East and was someone who offered helpful heuristics that aided understanding this 'foreign' world.

Central to Rowton's work on pastoralists in the ancient Near East was his understanding of these populations as the binary opposite of settled or urban populations. According to Rowton this pair of population types, then, combined to create a 'dimorphic' system. The interactions among the populations within this system

⁸² Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond," 149.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 150–52.

were dialectical, but at the same time pastoralists were ‘enclosed’ by the settled populations.⁸⁴ Settled populations, for Rowton, outnumbered pastoralists and the locus of political power was, therefore, among the more numerous settled peoples. Thus when Rowton described the situation as one in which settled populations ‘enclosed’ pastoralists, he was describing how the former constrained the movements and political involvements of the latter.

Yet Rowton’s work has not been without its critics. Perhaps most important for the present purposes, several challenges have been raised against the idea of enclosed nomadism. For example, Anne Porter and Abbas Alizadeh have suggested that this relationship between mobile and sedentary populations was, in fact, just the opposite. To capture the contrast between Rowton’s ‘enclosed nomadism’ Alizadeh has described his study of Iranian pastoralism as a case of ‘enclosing nomadism,’ a phenomenon in which “the urban centers and farmlands are physically surrounded by core nomadic highland regions, and the political hierarchy, while primarily settled, is drawn from the nomadic society.”⁸⁵

Alizadeh’s observation that mobile pastoralists constrained and enclosed settled populations has also been made of the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim’s reign, which was characterized by a similar asymmetrical relationship between mobile pastoralists and sedentary populations.⁸⁶ The interactions between sedentary and mobile populations was dialectical, to be sure; yet the sources from Mari evince a pattern in which substantial mobile populations repeatedly enclosed as well as empowered more permanently settled populations. Thus the situation during Zimri-Lim’s reign has been described as one in which power was more closely connected with more mobile populations, leaving more sedentary populations constrained by the former’s movements.⁸⁷ In terms of the sources

⁸⁴ See Rowton, “Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment,” 202 (and bibliography there).

⁸⁵ Alizadeh, “The Rise of the Highland Elamite State,” 353 n.1.

⁸⁶ Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors*, 70–72; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Making of Near Eastern Civilization*.

⁸⁷ Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Making of Near Eastern Civilization*; Alizadeh, *The Rise of the Highland Elamite State*.

from Mari, an important way in which mobile pastoralists ‘en-closed’ settled populations was through their movements across their *nighum*, which helped to fill in the political ‘gaps,’ while the key ‘nodes’ that structured the *nighum* helped to organize the interstices.

The report of a certain Sumu-Lanasi nicely illustrates the socio-political reality of ‘enclosing nomadism.’ In *FM* 6.18 he complains about the fact that he has not inherited his father’s throne:

Certainly (it was the case that), when you, my lord, and I spoke in the garden with the man of Karkamis at Muzu-L[im?]⁸⁸, our mat[ter] was decid[ed]. But n[ow], the god of your father enthroned you on the throne of your father, but when I arrived at the house of [my] father, Yumras-[El] was dwelli[ng] in my city.⁸⁹

Sumu-Lanasi’s complaint continued with a description of how he had been prevented from taking control of his father’s state because his district was overrun by the *ḥanūm* under Zimri-Lim’s jurisdiction: “... my district is a *nighum* for your district. The populations of Isqa, Qa’a, Ilisum, and the Yarihean (Yamina) are your

⁸⁸ The option preferred by Kupper is to interpret the form *mu-ZU-LI* [...] (l. 8) as the verbal noun *matum* with the 3ms suffix, /-šu/. In this case the name of the deceased would not be explicit, but would implicitly be understood as Shamshi-Adad (Kupper, “Dans les jardins de Carkémish,” 196). More simply, however, it could be a geographical locale, Muzu-Lim^{KI}, as has been previously pointed out by Durand (apud Charpin, “Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie,” 180 n. 28).

⁸⁹ *FM* 6.18:5) *lu-ú i-tu-um i-nu-ma* 6) *i-na ki-ri-im a-na-ku ù a-ta* 7) *be-lí i-na LÚ ka-ar-ka’-mi-sa*^{KI} 8) *i-na mu-ZU-LI-[im te-e]m-ni ba-ar-[ma]* 9) *ù ni-id-bu-bu i’-[na-an-n]a* 10) *i-lu-um ša a-bi-ka a-na* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA 11) *ša a-bi-ka ú-še-ri-ib’-ka* 12) *a-na-ku a-na bi-it a-bi-[ia]* 13) *ak-šu-da-am-ma i-[na a-]i-ia* 14) *nyu-um-ra-aš-[AN]* 15) *na-šú-[ib]*. Following Kupper, “Dans les jardins de Carkémish,” 196, where he notes that the subjunctive *nidbubu* is “fautive...”

servants... You know that I have entered into an empty house.”⁹⁰ The district of Zimri-Lim to which Sumu-Lanasi referred was that of Qattunan, along the Habur River, whereas Sumu-Lanasi’s district was just to the northeast of Qattunan, in the southern Habur triangle: Sumu-Lanasi’s territory bordered the geo-political boundaries of Mari. Sumu-Lanasi, therefore, was frustrated that the pastoralists (*banûm*) of Zimri-Lim had overrun his district as a result of it being their *nighum*. Sumu-Lanasi’s perspective was that of the settled population, and as a result he perceived the district of Qattunan to be the extent of Zimri-Lim’s authority. Yet it was the pastoralists and their sense of territoriality represented by the term *nighum* that now constrained, or ‘enclosed,’ the political events among the settled populations in Sumu-Lanasi’s district. The situation described, then, is one in which the pastoralist populations’ *nighum* constrained Sumu-Lanasi’s political authority over his district (*bašum*), and this episode reveals the phenomenon of ‘enclosed urbanism’ at work during Zimri-Lim’s reign.

The understanding of mobile pastoralists’ role as ‘enclosing’ in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia inverts the traditional understanding of the Mesopotamian heartland as an urban-centric political system. While an urban-focused model may be the best for describing the sprawling basin of southern Mesopotamia,⁹¹ politics in Syria have seemingly been more significantly empowered by pastoralist populations at various moments in history. Another instance from this same region, for example, was the mobile pastoralist tribe Abu Kalb, who played an important role in the Umayyad period, especially under the caliph Muawiya in Damascus.⁹² During this time the Caliph Muawiya married into the mobile pastoralist tribe of the Abu Kalb and he came to rely upon this pastoralist population as

⁹⁰ FM 6.18:41) *ba-al-ši a-na ba-al-ši-ka* 42) *ni-ig-bu-um* LÚ *is-qa-ia*^{K1} 43) LÚ *qa-a-ia*^{K1} LÚ *i-lī-si*^{K144}) [*ū*] *ma-ar ia-ri-ba* ^{K1} 45) [*wa*] *ar-du-ka*... 48) [*a*] *t-ta ti-ti-di* 49) *ki-ma a-na bi-ti-im ri-qī-im e_s(I)-ru-bu*.

⁹¹ At the same time, cf. Richardson, “Early Mesopotamia: The Pre-sumptive State,” esp. 10–15.

⁹² *New Cambridge History of Islam*, 516.

his primary basis of military power in the region.⁹³ A series of forts in the Syrian Desert, southeast of Damascus, provided a means for connecting the Kalb tribe to the Caliph's seat of residence in Damascus.⁹⁴

During Zimri-Lim's reign, too, both archaeological and textual data suggest that mobile pastoralists played a significant role in creating the socio-political landscape. For example, based upon a report of available corvée labor at the city, Durand has estimated that the city of Terqa, one of the most prominent cities in the central Euphrates valley, had a modest population of 2000 inhabitants. Survey data from the central Euphrates, moreover, has revealed that there were not many high-population settlements⁹⁵ but rather an abundance of small villages. It has even been suggested that Mari was not a heavily inhabited site either. And in the southwestern Habur, too, settlements were appreciably diminished in number by comparison with the northeastern Habur.⁹⁶ The above indicators of sparse and small scale settlements in these areas are supplemented by overwhelming textual indicators from the Mari letters that mention sizable pastoralist populations who were highly mobile in these very same regions.⁹⁷ Additionally, these sources reveal that Zimri-Lim relied upon the *ḥanûm* for a significant portion of his military.⁹⁸ The combined evidence from both the survey information and the textual data presents a situation that is the opposite of the urban-dominated landscape of southern Mesopotamia; rather, substantial mobile populations and their herds both constrained and empowered the agricultural centers of the central Euphrates River Valley and of the upper Jezira.

⁹³ See Donner, "The Role of Nomads in the Near East in Late Antiquity (400–800 C.E.)," 73–85.

⁹⁴ King, "Settlement Patterns in Islamic Jordan."

⁹⁵ Geyer and Monchambert, "Prospection de la moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate;" *La basse vallée de l'Euphrate syrien du Néolithique à l'avènement de l'Islam*.

⁹⁶ Lyonnet, *Prospection archéologique Haut-Khabur Occidentale*; Lyonnet, "L'occupation des marges arides de la Djéziré."

⁹⁷ See Durand, "Peuplement."

⁹⁸ See Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 418–20.

Simal mobile pastoralists' interactions along the central Euphrates

The importance of mobile pastoralist populations within the central Euphrates River Valley is perhaps best observed in an early episode from Zimri-Lim's reign, which involved a *merḫūm* named Bannum. *Merḫū*, in general, helped to politically organize the mobile pastoralist components of tribes,⁹⁹ being leaders of mobile pastoralist populations (*ḥanūm*) in the steppe (*nawūm*). Data from Mari reveals *merḫū* from at least two different tribes, the Simal and Yamina. Yet because Zimri-Lim himself was a member of the Simal and *merḫū* reported directly to him,¹⁰⁰ the best-known *merḫū* from this period are attested among the Simal.¹⁰¹ As for Bannum, he was a unique example of a leader among the mobile pastoralists.¹⁰² *Merḫū* typically had strong tribal connections and Bannum

⁹⁹ For an overview of the *merḫūm*'s function, see Durand "Peuplement." Durand identifies this as a *maḫras*-noun from an Amurrite or West-Semitic root $\sqrt{\text{r'y}}$, meaning 'to pasture' (*Les documents épistolaires* 17, 471). Also, note Durand, "Peuplement," 161, where he cites A.989:19, where the word is spelled *me-er-ḫi-yu-um*. On the *merḫūm* generally see Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 471; Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 76-84.

¹⁰⁰ Yamina *merḫū* appear to have reported to Yamina authorities in one of the four Yamina centers (Mishlan, Samanum, Abattum or Tuttul). For the Yamina, in particular, see FM 2.116 and ARM 26.282 (see also, Durand, "Peuplement," 160ff).

¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, there is no clear data that indicates how many *merḫū* were active among the Simal at any given time, but at least six are known throughout the duration of Zimri-Lim's reign. The key letter that has been cited to support the idea that two *merḫū* operated at any given time during Zimri-Lim's reign is A.2741 (see the discussion by Durand, "Peuplement," 162). Apart from this, however, there is no putative datum that reveals how many *merḫū* functioned in this role at a given time, although it is clear that there was more than one.

¹⁰² This type of arrangement is understandable given the way in which the tribal territories, both those of sedentary and mobile populations, overlapped in antiquity (see a similar phenomenon documented by D'Hont, *Vie quotidienne des Agēdāt*).

was not an exception to this pattern. In fact, Bannum was instrumental not only in securing Zimri-Lim's kingship, but he also must have worked closely with several other tribal populations of mobile pastoralists—especially the Numha and Yamut-bal—to establish their dynasties in the Sinjar.¹⁰³ Because of his exceptional career he was a lightning rod for conflict and controversy. At the same time, his biography extraordinarily reveals the political dynamics created in the *ab Purattim* by mobile pastoralist populations among the Simal.

Bannum played an essential role in the rebellion that ousted Yasmah-Addu and led to the enthronement of Zimri-Lim. His central role in this process is witnessed to even after Zimri-Lim's accession to the throne at Mari, when Bannum's actions continued to illustrate how mobile pastoralists enclosed the more settled populations of the *ab Purattim*. Bannum's communiqués, written during the first months of Zimri-Lim's reign,¹⁰⁴ evince the uncertainty of

¹⁰³ See A.1098 in note 76 above.

¹⁰⁴ His entire dossier originates from very early in Zimri-Lim's reign. Bannum's death is reported in FM 2.131, a letter in which Yaksuran—who was an otherwise unknown individual—reported to Zimri-Lim about Yamsi-Hadnu's attempt to purchase the position of *sugagum* from the *merhûm*. 'When Bannum acted as the *merhûm* Yamsi-Hadnu lavished 3 1/3 minas of silver and 300 sheep on him, saying "Appoint me [as] *sugagum*..." Thereafter, Bannum died and his (i.e. Yamsi-Hadnu's) silver and the sheep (which were given) as his (i.e. Yamsi-Hadnu's) gift he retained in his (i.e. Bannum's) place.' (4) *i-nu-ma ba-^ran¹-nu-um me-er-hu-tam i-pu-šu* 5) 3 1/3 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR ù 3 ME UDU.ĤÁ 6) ^m*ia-am-ši-ša-ad-nu-ú* 7) [ⁿ]-[^là-^a]h-^h*i-šum-ma um-ma-a-mi* 8) [^a-ⁿa š]u-ga-gu-lim [^š]u-uk-na-an-ni... 21) wa-ar-ka-nu-um 22) ^m*ba-AĤ (an¹)-nu-um i-mu-ut-ma* 23) KÙ.BABBAR-^š*u* ù UDU.ĤÁ 24) MU.TÛ-^š*u i-na aš-ri-šu-ma* 25) *ik-la*). For the equation of Ba'num with Bannum, see Villard, "Nomination d'un Scheich," 292 n. c. The *terminus ante quem* for Bannum's death is precisely fixed by M.12109, an administrative tablet dated to 25(th day of the) six(th month) of Annunitum and which inventories Bannum's household upon his death (Villard, "La place des années de << Kahat >> et d' << Adad d'Alep >>," 324.). According to Charpin's revised chronology, then, Bannum's dossier is dated no later

this period and the tumultuous interactions between mobile and sedentary populations of the *ab Purattim*. For example, Bannum quarreled with Asqudum, a high-ranking diviner of Zimri-Lim, over the nature of the Simal tribe's authority in the *ab Purattim*. Asqudum had served as a diviner under Yasmah-Addu and, therefore, Bannum contended that Asqudum was not trustworthy. In *ARM* 26.5:20-21 Bannum baldly insisted that Asqudum was an Ekallatean—that is, a loyalist to Ishme-Dagan, Yasmah-Addu's brother¹⁰⁵—and argued,

He (Asqudum) appo[nted] former servants of Ishme-Dagan to official positions. Ishme-Dagan will h[ear] this news and be pleased, saying: 'My former servants [hold] official positions and will act to re[turn] this land. I will not (even) sp[end] 1 morsel.'¹⁰⁶

Bannum presented himself, in contrast to Asqudum, as a staunch defender of the Simal mobile pastoralists' interests. This is perhaps clearest in Bannum's suggestion for how to remedy the problem represented by Asqudum. He implied that Asqudum was easily replaced and he reminded the king that "reliable diviners are in the service of my lord. Those men, Simal, are devoted to my lord."¹⁰⁷

Bannum's disagreement with Asqudum, however, came to head over the appointment of a certain man, Enlil-ipush, to the

than eight to twelve months after Zimri-Lim's accession (Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 170–5).

¹⁰⁵ For the discursive connotations of this designation, see Guichard and Ziegler, "Yanûh-Samar et les Ekallâtéens," 242–4. For an interpretation of this designation in terms of Bannum's disagreements with Asqudum, particularly, see Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 187.

¹⁰⁶ 36) ÌR.MEŠ *pa-nu-ut-tim-ma ša iš-me-^d[d]a-gan* 37) *a-na te-re-tim iš-ta-ke[a-an-š]u-nu-ti* 38) *te₄-ma-am an-né-em iš-me-^dda-gan i-[šē-me-m]a* 39) *ma-di-iš i-ḥa-ad-du um-ma š[u-ú-ma]* 40) ÌR.MEŠ-ia *pa-nu-ut-tum te-re-tim [i-ip-pé-šu-ma]* 41) *sú-ub-ḥ[u]-ur ma-tim an-ni-tim i-ḥ[p-pé-šu]* 42) 1 NINDA *ú-ul ub-b[a-lam]*; on 1 NINDA see Durand, *ARM(I)* 26/1, n. o.

¹⁰⁷ LÚ.MEŠ *máš-šu-su₁₃-su₁₃-ta-ak-lu-tum* 47) *i-na re-eš be-lí-ia iṣ-ṣa-aṣ-ṣu* 48) LÚ.MEŠ *šu-nu DUMU si-im-a-al a-na šī-ir be-lí-ia ma-aq-t[u]*.

abūt bītim at Hishamta.¹⁰⁸ Bannum was unequivocal that he had the interest of the Simal tribe in mind when he reported:

I dismissed¹⁰⁹ that man [Enlil-ipush] and I instructed Belshunu, your servant, who is fat as a pig, so you could slaughter him without anybody interceding for him with (you), my lord—for whom no one will take my lord's hand—regarding the *abūt bītim*.¹¹⁰

Bannum's description of Belshunu emphasized that he would not be beholden to any authority other than Zimri-Lim, whereas he implied that Enlil-ipush's loyalties would be divided. In the same missive, only three lines later, Bannum restated the rationale for his support of Belshunu. It was the same as his motivation for opposing Asqudum, namely the matter of tribal solidarity. Bannum insisted that Zimri-Lim, "... should ap[po]int servants to official positions who will not displease my lord, himself,¹¹¹ or the Simal."¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ It is also noteworthy the Asqudum held the title of *sugagum* of Hishamta. The *sugagum*, as Fleming (*Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 25, 51-53) has discussed that the *sugagum* was affiliated with tribes.

¹⁰⁹ On the verb *duppurum*, see *ARM(T)*, 368 n. c)

¹¹⁰ 23) LÚ *ša-a-ti ú-da-pí-ir-m[a]* 24) ^m*be-el-šu-nu ÌR-ka ša kè-ma ša-ḫi-im* 25) *i-ka-bi-ru-ma ta-tà-ab-ba-ḫu-šu* 26) *ma-am-ma-an qa-at-ka la i-ša-ab-ba-tu-[šu-um]* 27) *a-na a-bu-ut É ú-wa-e-er-šu*.

¹¹¹ The word *šum* has always been interpreted as a reference to the king's person. For example, Durand translates, "... des serviteurs avec lesquels t'y ne chagrineras pas mon Seigneur ni les Benê Sim'al." (See also *ARM(T)* 26/1, n. s). And Heimpel renders this passage: "... of whom the person of my lord and the sons of Simal will not be sorry." It is plausible that this could be taken as a reference to the family, or kin, of Zimri-Lim, in keeping with is two-fold, kin-based identity as the son of Yahdun-Lim and the Simal. For the meaning of *šum* as 'kin' see CAD Š/III 118 *šum* mng. 2.

¹¹² 30) ÌR.MEŠ *ša a-na šì-ir be-lí-ia ù DUMU si-im-a-al* 31) *la ta-mar-ra-šú a-na te-re-tim t[a-š]a-ka-an*. See also *ARM* 26.6; Cf. *ARM* 26.7, 51, 61, which seem to indicate a working relationship between Bannum and Asqudum that is less contentious. Similarly, Bannum's rapport with Zimri-Lim appears affable in A.56 (= LAPO 17 683) and FM 8.12.

Bannum's behavior in the affair of Enlil-ipush and Belshunu illustrates the 'enclosing' power the *merḫūm*, in this case the leader of the Simal mobile pastoralists, and how it was wielded among the populations of the *ab Purattim*. In particular, it shows how Bannum boldly sought to install officials at key locales in the *ab Purattim* in an effort to preserve the authority of the Simal mobile pastoralists among the sedentary populations of the central Euphrates River Valley.

Simal mobile pastoralists' interactions with populations in the upper Jezira

Simal mobile pastoralists also interacted with sedentary populations in the upper Jezira much the same way as they did in the *ab Purattim*. In the upper Jezira, the career of one of Bannum's close associates, Zakura-Abum, provides perhaps the best insight into the nature of the 'enclosing pastoralism' that helped to shape the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign. In his early career, during the opening months of Zimri-Lim's reign, Zakura-Abum had supported Bannum's policies in the *ab Purattim* and appears to have found himself at the center of the controversies sparked by Bannum. Bannum suggested to Zimri-Lim that Asqudum was slandering both himself and Zakura-Abum.¹¹³ Bannum, however, pleaded with the king to heed the words of Zakura-Abum, requesting that, "whatever word Zakura-Abum speaks to my lord, let my lord give it (his) full attention!"¹¹⁴ These connections between Bannum and Zakura-Abum, and the latter's support for the *merḫūm*'s efforts to exert Simal mobile pastoralists' authority over settled populations in the *ab Purattim* anticipated the role that Zakura-Abum would play years later in Zimri-Lim's reign. The difference between Bannum and Zakura-Abum, however, is that the latter's career reveals

¹¹³ This is signaled by Guichard in "Le Šubartum," 155 n. 155, where he cites previously unpublished portions of A.1098.

¹¹⁴ A.4508: 15) *i-na-an-na a-wa-tam ma-la* 16) [^m]*ṣa-ku-ra-a-bu-um* 17) *a-na be-lī i-da-bu-bu* 18) *be-lī-ia a-<na a>-wa-ti-šu* 19) *ma-di-iš li-qū-ul* (cited in Guichard, "Le Šubartum," 155 n. 154). Guichard also notes the fact that household inventories show a connection between Bannum and Zakura-Abum ("Le Šubartum," 155).

more regularized interactions between the Simal mobile pastoralists and the sedentary populations in the upper Jezira.

Zakura-Abum seems to have begun his career during the first few years of Zimri-Lim's reign as a *merḥūm* for Simal mobile pastoralists in the region of upper Mesopotamia. His responsibility for these mobile populations is evident in his communiqués, which date from the first year or two of Zimri-Lim's reign and which Zakura-Abum wrote concerning the socio-economic interactions between the Simal mobile pastoralists and the settled, non-Simal populations of Zalluhan.¹¹⁵ The relationship between the Simal pastoralists and the non-Simal settled populations of Zalluhan was arranged through a socio-political exchange, which from the perspective of the mobile pastoralists was an exchange for grain (*še'um šepātum*). Michael Guichard, who has treated the *šepātum*,¹¹⁶ has described it as a patterned and recurrent exchange between pastoralist and sedentary populations in which the pastoralists supplied livestock to the sedentary populations in return for agricultural produce, especially grain. In *FM* 6.7, for example, Zakura-Abum reported that he fulfilled his side of the *šepātum*-exchange, giving livestock to the kings of various cities in Ida-Maras, just as Zimri-Lim had asked him to do:

My lord wrote to me thus, saying 'Provision the kings of the land of Shubartum and speak with them honestly!' This is what my lord wrote. Before my lord wrote, (however), I assembled 200 sheep with the consent of the (Simal) pastoralists and I provisioned the kings of Ida-Maras, Zalmaqum, and of Adami,

¹¹⁵ For the dating of these texts (i.e. *FM* 6.5 and *FM* 6.7), see Guichard, "Le Šubartum," 120–1. For a general overview of Zakura-Abum's career, see Guichard, "Le Šubartum," 154–5.

¹¹⁶ Guichard offers the following analysis of the term *šepātum*, itself, "Étymologiquement, *ši/epātum* pourrait venir de *šepūm* << emballer >> à qui donne aussi l'adjectif *šapūm* << épais >>. On pensera à l'expression des textes cappadociens *ukāpū šapiūtum*, soit << ballots renforcés >> ... Ainsi le *šepātum* pourrait représenter les sacs que l'on met sur le bat (type *ukāpūm*), faits à partir d'un cuir épais." ("Le Šubartum," 162).

and spoke honestly with them. Then, I went before Adal-sheni at Ashnakkum and I handed that over to him.¹¹⁷

The provisioning of animals, however, was done in expectation that these same kings would supply grain in return. The second half of this *šepātum*-exchange, therefore, was discussed in a later missive, FM 6.5. In this letter, Zakura-Abum highlighted the fact that the responsibility to provide grain for the mobile pastoralists was still incumbent upon Adal-sheni, king of Ashnakkum, and that Adal-Sheni had acknowledged the receipt of the animals Zakura-Abum had given him:

I [Zakura-Abum] sent a tablet to Adal-sheni, and he answered me concerning the *šepātum*-exchange for the pastoralists and the pasture, he has answered me saying, “I am claiming responsibility for the pack-animals and provisions of the pastoralists.” This is what Adal-sheni answered me.¹¹⁸

The *šepātum*-exchange, then, represented an important way in which pastoralist and sedentary populations in the upper Jezira interacted with one another. In the case of Zakura-Abum, the *šepātum*-exchange continued to be practiced long after the first year or two of Zimri-Lim’s reign and after Zakura-Abum’s had been embroiled in the disputes at Hishamta. The continued role of Zakura-Abum among the Simal mobile pastoralists from later in Zimri-Lim’s reign is evidenced even after his appointment at the city of Zalluhan,

¹¹⁷ 5) [be-lí] ke-em iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-mi 6) [LU]GAL.MEŠ-ni ša ma-at šu-bar-tim pí-qí-id 7) ù it-ti-šu-nu i-ša-ri-iš du-bu-ub 8) an-ni-tam be-lí iš-pu-ra-am la-ma be-lí-ma i-ša-pa-ra-am 9) 2 me-tim UDU.NITA.ĤÁ it-ti ḫa-na.MEŠ i-na [ú-bi-šu-nu-ma 10) [ú-p]a-ḫi-ir-ma LUGAL.MEŠ-ni ša ia-da-ma-ra-aš 11) [ṣa-a]l-ma-qí-im^{K1} ù LUGAL.MEŠ-ni ša a-da-mi-i 12) [ap-qí]-id ù it-ti-šu-nu i-ša-ri-iš ad-bu-ub 13) [ú a]-na še-er a-dal-še-en₆-ni a-na aš-na-ak-ki-im^{K1} 14) [aš]-li-ik-ma ša-tu ap-qí-is-sú.

¹¹⁸ 4) a-na a-dal-še-ni tuḫ-pa-am ú-ša-bi-il 15) aš-šum še-pa-a-tim ša LÚ ḫa-na ú ri-tim 16) ^m a-dal-še-ni i-ša-ri-iš i-pu-la-an-ni 17) um-ma šu-ma a-na ANŠE.DUSU₂ wa-ka-pí-im 18) ù ša-bi-im ša LÚ ḫa-na.MEŠ ḫi-ṭe₄-tam a-ta-n[a-pa]-al 19) ^m a-dal-še-ni ke-em i-pu-la-an-[ni].

sometime after Zimri-Lim's war with Eshnunna, in ZL 5.¹¹⁹ At this time, Zakura-Abum served at Zalluhan, although he continued to be involved in the *šepâtum*-exchange as it involved Zalluhan. Zakura-Abum's ongoing role in pastoralist-sedentary relations may be observed in ARM 28.79, a missive in which he restates the importance of this ongoing practice: "... Let my lord write to Ibal-pi-El, so that the people of my district will go out for a *šepâtum*-exchange with the pastoralists, and let him set his hand on me."¹²⁰ This missive testifies to the continued importance of the *šepâtum*-exchange as well as Zakura-Abum's ongoing role in supervising it among the populations of the upper Jezira. However, it also provides another glimpse into the nature of the mobile pastoralists' enclosing of settled populations in the Habur.

The city of Zalluhan belonged to two worlds. First, the city was located in the western Habur triangle within the geographic orbit of the land (*mātum*) of Ida-Maras. As Fleming has observed, this *mātum* was not unified by a single geographical center, but rather "... the Ida-Maras coalition had a somewhat fluid constituency..."¹²¹ Several important cities, such as Kahat, Ashlakka, and Ashnakkum competed to provide a political center that would unify the *mātum* of Ida-Maras.¹²² Second, while Zalluhan was within the *mātum* of Ida-Maras, it was simultaneously a part of the Simal mobile pastoralists' *nighum*. As noted above, the *merhûm* Ibal-El asserted that "... from the distant past, Ida-Maras is the traditional pastoral route of the (Simal) *hanûm*... It is—and has (always)

¹¹⁹ For the general sense of this letters as belonging to the period after the war with Eshnunna, see the discussion in Kupper, ARM(T), 19.

¹²⁰ 36) *be-lí a-na m i-ba-al-pí-el* 37) [*!i-iš-pu-ru-am-ma it-t[i] ha-na*.MEŠ 38) DUMU.MEŠ *ha-al-ši-ia a-na ši-pa-im li-it-ta-la-ku* 39) *ù ri-it-ta-šu e-li-ia li-iš-ku-un* (transcription following Guichard, "Le Šubartum, 162; cf. Kupper, ARM(T), 110, 122 n. e).

¹²¹ Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 125.

¹²² Several of the potential political centers of Ida-Maras are delineated in ARM 9.298. See the treatment of Kahat, Ashlakka as well as Ashnakkum, to a lesser degree, which is found in chapter four.

been— my customary pastoral route (*nighi*)!”¹²³ Moving between these two worlds, then, Zakura-Abum constrained or enclosed polities in the Habur, first as a *merḥûm* leading the Simal mobile pastoralists and later as the ruler at Zalluhan.¹²⁴

Simal’s interactions with mobile pastoralists in the land of Apum

One final example furnishes additional insight into the dynamics between mobile pastoralists from the land of Apum as well as populations of the Ybasu Simal found in the upper Jezira.¹²⁵ The two previous cases have shown how the Simal mobile pastoralists (*ḥanûm*) helped to secure Zimri-Lim’s political authority in the *ab Purattim* and in the upper Jezira. This third and final case study, by

¹²³ See A.2730 discussed above in the section “Tribal Solidarity, Mobile Pastoralism and the Construction of Territoriality,” and note 63. A fuller treatment of A.2730 may also be found in chapter five below.

¹²⁴ The nature of Zakura-Abum’s authority, and by extension Zimri-Lim’s authority at Zalluhan, was a matter of dispute, as is clear from *ARM* 28.79. In this missive, Zimri-Lim insisted that, “Zalluhan is not the son of Ida-Maras but the son of Simal” (35) [*ṣa-al*]-*lu-ḥa-an ú-ul* DUMU *i-da-ma-ra-aṣ* 36) [DUMU *si*]-*im-a-al*). The Mariote king’s assertion, in my opinion, alludes to the potential for political unity among the *matum* of Ida-Maras, and consequently its authority over Zalluhan, but insists to the contrary that Zalluhan belongs to the Simal pastoralists. Durand, in commenting on this letters has raised a pertinent question, “...si l’appartenance à l’ethnie bensim’alite affirmée pour Zalluhan est, dans la bouche du roi de Mari, l’affirmation d’une réalité ou la concession d’un privilège?” (“Peuplement,” 147.) The answer to this question for Durand is found in the expression in *ARM* 28.79: 39 “let him [the *merḥûm* Ibal-pi-El] set his right hand upon me” (*ri-it-ta-šū e-lī-ia li-iš-ku-un*), which he understands to be an allusion to a tribal ‘adoption’ of Zalluhan (“Peuplement,” 147 n. 93). Whether correct or not, the episode at Zalluhan represents an interesting example of how territory could be configured by the complex solidarities—tribal and other—as well as substance patterns at work during Zimri-Lim’s reign.

¹²⁵ For additional discussion of the Simal-Numha relations, see chapters four and five below.

comparison, provides a glimpse not only into the far-flung reaches of the Simal under Zimri-Lim's authority but also into the problems that these dynamics could create. The outcome of this final affair, which involved a city in the land of Apum, is not clear; yet the interactions between the mobile pastoralists (*ḥanūm*) from the land of Apum and populations of Yabasu Simal illustrate how sedentary and mobile pastoralist groups from several tribes produced a dynamic socio-political landscape.

The event in question focused on a town that was located in the vicinity of Shubat-Enlil. Prior to Zimri-Lim's reign, Shamshi-Adad had established Shubat-Enlil as a territorial center for his expansive Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Yet after Shamshi-Adad died and his state collapsed, the land of Shubat-Enlil slowly reverted back to a regional center for the land of Apum by ZL 4.¹²⁶ The nature of the territory that Shubat-Enlil came to control, however, was not a discretely bounded one. Rather, the land of Apum, as Lauren Ristvet has shown, was constituted by a network of political authority mapped onto non-contiguous territories.¹²⁷ It was "... a collection of people initially, and of places secondarily."¹²⁸ The dispute documented in ARM 28.95 provides a window into the interactions between the Simal and mobile pastoralist populations of an unknown tribal group (*ḥanūm*) from the political landscape of the land of Apum during Zimri-Lim's reign.

ARM 28.95, which was sent by Shub-ram of Susa¹²⁹ to Zimri-Lim, reports a land dispute in the western Habur-triangle, between the Yabasu clan of the Simal and non-Simal populations associated with the land of Apum. The situation, which transpired some time during ZL 11 or ZL 12,¹³⁰ had attracted Zimri-Lim's attention while in the region, but he delegated its resolution to Haya-Sumu of Ilan-sura. Shub-ram's letter, then, reminded Zimri-Lim of the matter and provides some background to the affair:

¹²⁶ Eidem, "Raiders of the Lost Treasure of Samsī-Addu."

¹²⁷ Ristvet, "Legal and Archaeological Territories."

¹²⁸ Ibid., 592.

¹²⁹ On this PN, see Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 427.

¹³⁰ For a discussion of the date of this event, see Durand, "Peuplement," 147.

Previously when my Lord (Zimri-Lim) stayed at Taadum, Ili-Eshtar, the man of Shuna wrote to my lord concerning the city of Shunhum, saying “It is my city! He has forcibly taken it and Ili-Addu, the man of Kiduh continuously strips me (bare).” He wrote these things and many others to my lord. (So) my lord called me and commanded me saying “Let Ili-Eshtar and his elders, Ili-Addu and his elders, you and the elders of the land of Apum—the leaders—assemble. Let Haya-Sumu render a judgment for you (and) you will accept the judgment which Haya-Sumu renders for you.” This is what my lord commanded me.¹³¹

The contextual information that Shub-ram recounts introduces the main actors in the land dispute. Ili-Eshtar of Shuna claimed that the city of Shunhum belonged to him and the Yabasum and that Ili-Addu of Kiduh had wrongfully taken it from him. Zimri-Lim’s response to this conflict was to send the plaintiff (Ili-Eshtar) and defendant (Ili-Addu) along with Shub-ram and representatives from Apum before Haya-Sumu. The apparent reasons why Shub-ram led a contingent from Apum were twofold. First, the dispute concerned a town within the land of Apum and Shub-ram was located at Susa, close to Shubat-Enlil. Second, Shub-ram may have served as the *šapitum* of Shubat-Enlil city during Zimri-Lim’s reign.¹³² For at least these reasons, then, Shub-ram was considered

¹³¹ ARM 28.95: 3) *i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma be-lí i-na ta-a-di-im*^{K1} *úš-bu* 4) *aš-šum* URU^{K1} *šu-un-ḫi-im*^{K1} *ša i-lí-eš4-tár* LÚ *šu-na-a*^{K1} 5) *a-na be-lí-ia iš-pu-ru um-ma-a-mi* URU^{K1} *šu-ú a-lí* 6) *i-na e-mu-qí-im iṣ-ba-tu-šu ù i-lí-^dIM* LÚ *ki-du-ub* {UH} ^{K1} 7) *a-na ka-a-ia-an-tim iṣ7-ta-na-ab-ḫi-tà-an-ni* 8) *an-né-tim ù ma-da-tim-ma a-na be-lí-ia iš-pu-ru* 9) *be-lí iṣ7-si-en-ni-ma ke-em ú-wa-^re¹-ra-an-ni um-ma-a-mi* 10) ^m*i-lí-eš4-tár ù* LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ-*šu i-lí-^dIM ù* LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ-*šu* 11) *at-ta ù* LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ *ma-a-at a-pí-im*^{K1} *ka-aq-qa-da-tim* 12) *li-íp-ḫu-ru-ma ḫa-ià-su-ú-mu di-na-am li-ša-ḫi-iṣ7-ku-nu-ti* 13) *di-na-am ša ḫa-ià-su-u-mu i-na-ad-di-na-ak-ku-nu-š7-im ta-ma-ab-ḫa-ra* 14) *an-ni-tam be-lí u-wa-^re¹-[r]a-an-ni i-nu-ma* (collations in Durand, LAPO 18, 1000).

¹³² Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, p. 517 n. b) connects the Shub-ram, who was *šapitum* with the Shub-ram known to have been the king at Susa. Cf. Charpin, “Šubat Enlil et le pays d’Apum,” 134–135.

to be involved in sorting out the conflict involving the nearby town of Shunhum.

While Zimri-Lim's solution seemed sensible, we learn that his plan could not be smoothly implemented. Shub-ram recounted that:

[W]hen Haya-Sumu returned from before my lord and had set a time in keeping with my lord's command, I and the elders of the land of Apum—the leaders—(as well as) Ili-Addu and his elders went before Haya-Sumu. (But) he (Ili-Eshtar) did not come and he did not send his elders. He sent (instead) his servant Zakku, and a(nother) servant with him. (So) Haya-Sumu rendered a judgment for us, saying "If that city is your city, let two men (and) two women of Shuna take dust from that city, submit to the River ordeal and say 'That city is indeed our city since long ago; it was given as an allotment for the Yabasum. The men of Apum did not give it as a gift.' Let them say this and submit to the River ordeal in order to take possession of that city. Alternately, let two men and two women of the land of Apum take dust from that city and submit to the River ordeal saying 'That city belongs to Shub-ram and since long ago it was indeed given as an allotment for the mobile pastoralists (*ḥanûm*). Let them say this and submit to the River ordeal in order to take possession of that city.'"133

¹³³ ARM 28.95: 14) *i-nu-ma ḥ[a-ṣ]à-[ṣ]u-ú-mu* 15) *[iṣ-ṣ]u ma-ḥ[a-a]r be-[ḷi-ia i-tu-ra-am a-na ḥi-da-nim ṣa ḥa-ià-su-mu [ṣ]-[k]u-n[ṣ]* 16) *[kì-ma] wṭ-ú-ur-ti be-lī-ia a-na-ku ù LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ ma-a-at a-pí-im* 17) *[ka]-aq-qa-da-tim ì-lī-IM ù ŠU.GI.MEŠ-šu* 18) *[a-n]a ṣe-er ḥa-ià-su-ú-mu ni-il-lī-ik-ma* 19) *šu-ú ú-ul il-lī-ka-am ù ŠU.GI.MEŠ-šu ú-ul [ṣ]t-ru-dam* 20) *ṣa-ak-ku-ú ÌR-šu ù 1 LÚ.TUR it-ti-šu ṣt-ru-dam-ma* 21) *ḥa-ià-su-ú-mu di-na-am ki-a-am {ke-em} ú-ṣa-ḥi-ṣa-an-né-ti um-ma-mi* 22) *[ṣu]m-ma URU^{KI} šu-ú a-al-ka* 2 LÚ.MEŠ 2 MUNUS.MEŠ LÚ *šu-na-a^{KI}* 23) *[e-p]é-er URU^{KI} ṣa-a-ti li-il-qú-ma* ^dI.ID *li-iṣ-lu-ú* 24) *[ke-e-e]m li-iq-bu-ú um-ma-a-mi URU^{KI} šu-ú lu-ú a-lī* 25) *ù [ṣ-tu a]q-da-mi a-n[a] ḪA.LA [ṣ]a(ia₈)-[ḥ]a-si-im^{KI} lu-ú [n]a-di-in* 26) LÚ *a-pa-a-yu^[K] a-na qí-iṣ₇-tim la id-di-nu-su an-ni-ta[m] li-iq-bu-ú* 27) *[ḷi-iṣ-lu-ma URU^{KI} ṣa-a-ti li-il-qú-ú ú-la-su-m[a]* 28) *[2 LÚ 2 MUNUS LÚ a-pí-i^[m]^{KI} e-pé-er URU^{KI} ṣa-a-ti li-il-[qú-ma]* 29) *[^dI.ID ḷi-iṣ-lu-ú um-[m]a-mi URU^{KI} šu-ú lu-ú ṣa šu-ub-r[a-am]*

According to Shub-ram, Ili-Eshtar's decision to send two servants, rather than come himself with the elders of Shuna, was offensive to the other parties involved. That said, however, Ili-Eshtar's representatives were seemingly sufficient to permit Haya-Sumu to issue a judgment.

The crux of the land dispute is revealed in the wording of the oaths that accompanied the parties' submission to the River ordeal. On the one hand, we learn from these oaths that Ili-Eshtar and the representatives from Shuna were of the Yabasum clan (*gayûm*) of the Simal, for they were to swear: "That city is indeed our city since long ago; it was given as an allotment for the Yabasum. The men of Apum did not give it as a gift." On the other hand, the representatives from Apum are identified as *ḥanûm*, for they were supposed to swear: "This town indeed belongs to Shub-ram, and from of old it was assigned as the portion of the *ḥanûm*."¹³⁴ It is interesting that both groups involved in the dispute—the Yabasu and *ḥanûm*—are marked with the determinative KI, perhaps reflecting their multi-resource strategies for subsistence. Yet whatever the extent of their mobility and pastoralist production, it seems that the *ḥanûm* represented by Shub-ram in this text are contrasted with the Simal.¹³⁵ The issue is framed, as Fleming has observed, "... in terms of the disputed town's ancient tribal affiliation, not in terms of the *mâtum* to which it belongs..."¹³⁶ Thus Shub-ram and the *ḥanûm* do not seem to represent the same tribal interests as Simal.

It may be that the *ḥanûm* in view in ARM 28.95 were those of a local tribe, indigenous to the land of Apum, but there is simply not enough evidence to determine their tribal affiliation for certain. Yet whatever the precise tribal affiliation of the non-Simal *ḥanûm* in ARM 28.95, an additional point can be deduced upon closer comparison of these two juxtaposed oaths. That is, the declaration by

30) [ù] ṣ-tu aq-d[ā]-m[ā] ṣ a'-n[ā] ḪA.LA ḥa-na^{K1} lu-ú na-di-[in] 31) [an]-ni-tam li-iq-bu-ú li-[ṣ]-lu-ma URU^{K1} ša-a-t[ā] 32) li-il-qú-ú (collations in Durand, L'APO 18, 1000).

¹³⁴ Following Durand, *Les documents épistolaires*, 18, 154–157; (cf. Durand "Peuplement," 147, n. 189).

¹³⁵ This comparison is made again in line 60, quoted below.

¹³⁶ Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 90.

the Yabasu Simal and assertion of the *ḫanūm* from the land of Apum are conspicuously different in one fundamental respect. While both parties are to swear that the city of Shunhum belong to them ‘from of old’ (*ištu aqdamī*),¹³⁷ the Yabasum must insist that the city was not ‘a gift’ (*qištum*). This variant focuses attention on the fact that the legal right to the land was connected with the traditional ownership of it. The phrase *ištu aqdamī* makes clear that the rightful owner of the land could not hold it as a recent acquisition, but rather must possess it as a consequence of it being a long-standing allotment. The dispute between the unidentified tribal populations of the *ḫanūm* in ARM 28.95 as well as the Yabasu Simal centered on the issue of which group could claim the city of Shunhum as a traditional territorial possession.

In the second half of this same letter Shub-ram informed Zimri-Lim of the fallout of Haya-Sumu’s judgment. Shub-ram feared that the dispute had escalated, becoming a powder keg for regional politics.

Haya-Sumu rendered a judgment, but he (Ili-Eshtar) did not accept the judgment that Haya-Sumu gave us. He is a plunderer! He plunders the sons of Apum! All day long, the primary thing he does is plunder! I repeatedly write, but he is not answering me and will not accept the judgment. (Moreover,) my lord, Atamrum makes continual abusive claims and says many spiteful things before my servants whom I send before him. I made those who were before him when he makes (these) abusive claims testify before Haya-Sumu. Let my lord send to Haya-Sumu so that he can decide this matter.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ This expression is discussed by Durand (*Les documents épistolaires* 18, 156). For other examples of *aqdamum*, see ARM 10.80 and FM 2.118 and the restoration of the phrase in A.3752 in Durand, “Unité et diversité,” 114.

¹³⁸ ARM 28.95: 32) [b]a-[i]à-su-ú-mu dī-nam ú-ša-ḫi-ṣa-an-né-ti-ma 33) dī-na-am ša [b]a-ià-su-ú-[m]u ú-ša-ḫi-ṣa-an-né-ti 34) ú-ul im-ḫu-ur 35) ṣa-bi-it-ma DUMU.MEŠ ‘a’-[p]i-im ú-ḫa-ab-ba-at 36) ša ki-ma i-še-er-ru ‘ù’ ú-ša-am-šu-ú ma-ab-re-[e]m-ma i-ḫa-ab-ba-a[t] 37) aš-t[a]-na-ap-pa-a[r-m]a ú-ul i-ip-pa-la-an-ni ù dī-nam ú-ul [ma-ḫi-in] 38) IGI LÚ.TUR-ia [ša a]-na še-ri-šu a-ša-ap-pa-ru be-lī a-

In his elaboration on this affair, Shub-ram initially made clear that the situation had undergone a reversal since Zimri-Lim was last in the region. That is, while Ili-Eshtar had appealed to Zimri-Lim as victim, he had become the criminal since losing the case adjudicated by Haya-Sumu. Ili-Eshtar went from claiming to have been plundered to being the perpetrator of aggressive raids against the land of Apum. Shub-ram then highlighted the potential crisis that might develop from the whole affair. He reported:

Furthermore, eighty troops, men of Kiduh and Kirru, their leader, are with him and they continually strip (bare) the heart of the land of Apum and regularly harass the city of Kiduhhum. When Ishme-Dagan went up, he dispatched those troops and (those of) Kirru, their leader, to him and went with Ishme-Dagan. At Talba'um Ishme-Dagan and Hammu-rabi (of Kurda) swore an oath of the gods and those troops as well as Kirru, their leader, swore an oath of the gods. Now we questioned him saying "Why did you dispatch those troops before Ishme-Dagan?" He answered, "(They are) auxiliary-troops and they left." (While he is) here, he repeatedly declares "they are auxiliary-troops." But before Ishme-Dagan (he) says, "(they are) troops of the man of Shuna and Kirru, the general of Shuna." Now concerning these men, let my lord review (the matter) and he will make these men into auxiliary-troops. (Yet) because these men went without my lord before Ishme-Dagan and swore an oath of the gods, these men are enemies of my lord. Let my lord entrap them! These men are sons of the mobile pastoralists (*banûm*), they are not sons of his (Ili-Eshtar's) land! He (Ili-Eshtar) is with my lord and let him stay (there). Let my lord dispatch his trustworthy servants with Tehum-Adal so that I can lead these men before my lord.¹³⁹

ta-am-rum 39) *it-t[a-n]a-a[ṣ-ṣa-a]r ù mi-ig-re-tim ma-da-tim-ma i-da-ab-bu-[ub]* 40) *š[u-nu ma-a]b-ri-šu it-ta-aṣ-ṣa-ru 'ù' [ba]-ià-su-ú-mu uṣ-ṣ[i-iṣ] [be-lí a-na ba-i]à-su-ú-mu li-iš-pu-ur-[ma wa]-ar-ka-at* 42) *[a-wa-tim an]-ni-tim li-ib-[ru]-ús* (collations in Durand, LAPO 18, 1000).

¹³⁹ ARM 28.95: 43) *[š]a-ni-tam 60+20 ṣa-b[u-um] L[Ú] ki-du-u[b]^{K1} ù ki-ir-ru] a-lik pa-ni-šu-nu* 44) *ma-[a]b-ri-šu wa-aš-bu-ma i-na ša-b[a] ma-a-at a-[pā]-*

Ili-Eshtar was not the only party who had responded violently to the judgment of Haya-Sumu. A contingent of troops from Kiduhhum led by a certain Kirru had also joined the fray. What was particularly troubling about this to Shub-ram was that it held the potential to spark a much larger conflict.

The troops from Kiduhhum had partnered with Ishme-Dagan, a long-standing enemy of Zimri-Lim, and Hammu-rabi of Kurda. Shub-ram knew that control of the land of Apum had been hotly contested throughout Zimri-Lim's reign. Lingerings persons from Shamshi-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, including his son Ishme-Dagan, had strong interests in reasserting control over the region. Due in no small part to the issue of who would control Shubat-Enlil, Atamrum, the Yamut-bal king at Andarig and Hammu-rabi, the Numha king at Kurda, had repeatedly quarreled over who would control this region. As Durand notes, "[l]'opposition entre ces deux royaumes voisins, dont les capitales n'étaient qu'à une journée de marche l'une de l'autre... est une des constantes de la géopolitique amorrite."¹⁴⁰ According to Shub-ram, both Atamrum and Hammu-rabi were using the issue of Shunhum

im^{K1} iš-ta-na-aḫ-ḫi-tu 45) ¹ū¹ URU^[K1] *ki-du-uḫ-ḫa-am a-na ka-a-[a]a-an-tim ú-da-ab-ba-bu* 46) *[iš-tu]-ma iš-me-^dda-gan i-le-em ṣa-ba-am ṣa-a-ti¹ ū¹ [ki]-ir-ru* 47) *[a-li-ke pa-n]i-šu-nu a-na ṣe-er iš-me-^dda-gan it-ru-ud-ma* 48) *[it]-ti [iš-me-^dda-gan it-ta-al-la-ak i-na ta-al-ba-i-im^{K1}* 49) ^miš-me-^dda-gan ū *[ḫ]a-mu-ra-bi ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iṣ-ku-ru-ma* 50) *ṣa-bu-um šu-ú ū ki-ir-ru a-l[ke] p[a]-ni-su-nu ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iṣ-ku-ur* 51) *i-nu-ma ni-iš-ta-lu-šu um-ma-mi am-mi-ni[m ṣa]-ba-am* 52) *a-na ṣe-er iš-me-^dda-gan ta-aṭ-ru-ud [u]m-[m]a šu-ma* 53) LÚ.DIRIG.GA.MEŠ ū *it-ta-al-ku an-ni-ke-em a-na LÚ.DIRIG.[G]A.MEŠ* 54) *iš-ta-na-ak-ka-an-šu-nu-ti ū IGI iš-me-^dda-gan um-ma-mi* 55) *ṣa-bu-um LÚ šu-na-a^{K1} ū ki-ir-ru GAL.MAR.TU ṣa šu-na-a^{K1}* 56) *i-na-an-na aš-šum LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti be-lí li-iš-ni-ig-šu-ma [L]Ú.MEŠ šu-nu-ti a-na LÚ.DIRIG.GA.MEŠ-tim i-ša-ak-ka-an* 58) *[aš-šu]m LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu ba-lum be-lí-ia a-na ṣe-er iš-me-^dda-gan* 59) *il-li-ku-ma ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iṣ-ku-ru LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu na-ka-ar be-lí-ia* 60) 60 *[be]-lí li-iḫ-ki-šu-nu-ti LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu DUMU.MEŠ ḫa-na^{K1}* 61) ¹ū¹-ul DUMU.MEŠ *ma-ti[a] šu-ú IGI be-lí-ia-ma li-ši-ib* 62) *be-lí eb-bu-ti-šu it-ti te-ḫu-um-a-dal li-it-ru-ud-ma* 63) LÚ.MEŠ *šu-nu-ti a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia li-ir-du-nim* (collations in Durand, LAPO 18, 1000).

¹⁴⁰ Durand, "Peuplement," 137. See additionally chapter five, below.

to agitate in the region.¹⁴¹ Shub-ram, therefore, pleaded with Zimri-Lim to swiftly deal with these troops before they instigated a much larger conflict.

A resolution to the events that Shub-ram reported in *ARM* 28.95 is, unfortunately, not extant.¹⁴² What the dispute over the city of Shunum reveals, however, is how the Simal and *ḥanûm* helped to create the socio-political landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign. In particular, it reveals how subsistence and tribal groups were interconnected, triggering complex socio-political interactions. It also provides a glimpse into populations that are less well documented in the sources from Mari such as non-Simal mobile pastoralists.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has used Zimri-Lim's claim to be the "king of Mari and land of the mobile pastoralists (*ḥand*)" as a window into the socio-political landscape of his reign. On the one hand, the succinct claim by Zimri-Lim to be "king of Mari" grafted him into the political traditions founded by the *šakkanakkū* centuries earlier. Zimri-Lim's claim "king of Mari" primarily defined his political authority in terms of the time-honored political center established in the *šakkanakkum*-period. At the same time, Zimri-Lim was a part of an evolving political tradition begun in the twenty-third century BCE. A look at the diachronic development of the claim to be "king of Mari," which began with Yahdun-Lim, revealed the ways in which control of the central Euphrates River Valley became closely connected with what it meant to be the ruler at Mari. As a result, it was suggested that Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of Mari" denoted his political control over the city-center as well as secondarily connoted his sovereignty over the populations of the *ah Purat-*

¹⁴¹ *ARM* 28.81, a letter that recounts a conflict brewing between At-amrum and Hammu-rabi in ZL 11, can likely be correlated with the general time frame of *ARM* 28.95. Also, it may be at this time that Ili-Eshtar's status changes from Zimri-Lim's 'son' (*ARM* 28.147) to 'servant' (*ARM* 10.98). For a treatment of additional cases of this change in status within the system of international relations, see chapter four.

tim, including both the populations of this *ḥaḥṣū* as well as the Yamina enclaves found there.

On the other hand, Zimri-Lim's titulature "king... of the land of the mobile pastoralists (*ḥana*)" primarily, though perhaps not exclusively, invoked his political authority over his tribe, the Simal. That the *ḥana* in Zimri-Lim's titulature was shorthand for the Simal, in particular, is clear when compared with Yahdun-Lim's claim to be "king of Mari and of the land of the Simal." At the same time, Zimri-Lim's modification of Yahdun-Lim's titulature is conspicuous. Thus it was suggested that this change was intended to appeal to non-Simal tribal groups of mobile pastoralists, who closely cooperated with the Simal *merḥūm* Bannum prior to and during the opening months of Zimri-Lim's reign. In other words, while Zimri-Lim's claim of sovereignty over the *ḥana* expressed his tribal solidarity with the Simal, it also appealed to non-Simalite mobile pastoralist populations (*ḥanūm*) whose interests may have been partially fashioned by their subsistence patterns.

Beyond the connotations of Zimri-Lim's claim to be king over mobile pastoralists, he also asserted sovereignty over their *mārum*. Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of... the land of the mobile pastoralists" expressed his sovereignty not only over the population of mobile pastoralists that acknowledged his authority, but also over the territoriality fashioned by the mobile pastoralist Simal and their *nighum*. Collectively, then, Zimri-Lim's succinct titulature "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists" reveals the complex nature of his authority over a landscape of diverse tribal populations and non-contiguous territories, reaching from the city of Mari, extending along the central Euphrates River Valley and reaching as far as the upper Jezira. These many facets of the larger sociopolitical landscape that are denoted or connoted by Zimri-Lim's claim to be "king of Mari and the land of the mobile pastoralists" provide a context for understanding the dynamic interactions between states and tribes that will be discussed in the next two chapters.

ZIMRI-LIM'S CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

[M]aterial forces still matter and people are still intentional actors, but the meaning of the former depend largely on the shared ideas in which they are embedded... [T]he structures of human association are primarily cultural rather than material phenomena... and these structures not only regulate behavior but construct identities and interests.

—Alexander Wendt¹

The state has not always been the primary actor in global politics and has never been the sole actor.

—R. W. Mansbach, Y. H. Ferguson and D. E. Lampert²

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss Zimri-Lim's conduct of international politics. The first half of the chapter treats Zimri-Lim's engagement with other kings on the basis of his civic identity as the head-of-state. I will focus, in particular, on international politics conducted between Zimri-Lim and two of his contemporary sovereigns from the land of Ida-Maras—Kabiya, the king of Kahat, and that of Ibal-Addu, the king of Ashlakka—since the interactions with the kings of this region are among the best documented in the sources from Mari. After briefly introducing how the 'system of international

¹ Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 193. (It is worth noting Wendt's debt to Giddens's social theory throughout his work, both terminologically and conceptually. It is explicitly acknowledged on page 143).

² Mansbach, et.al., *The Web of World Politics*, 25.

relations³ operated during Zimri-Lim's reign as well as where the Mariote king was positioned within it, I will demonstrate how Zimri-Lim's dealings with the aforementioned kings evince his *realpolitik*. In the two case studies considered, the sovereigns were vassals of the Mariote king who owed their positions as kings to Zimri-Lim's support for them. Yet in both cases, Zimri-Lim's *realpolitik* provoked these vassals, who wavered in their allegiance toward Zimri-Lim, and ultimately led to the Mariote king taking military action against them.

The second half of this chapter builds on the socio-political landscape discussed in chapter three and further develops the argument presented in the first half of the present chapter. The second half of this chapter explores how Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations with kings such as Kabiya and Ibal-Addu differed from his negotiation in international politics that involved significant inter-tribal relations. The second half of chapter four considers the nature of inter-tribal politics as they were conducted within the socio-political landscape in Syro-Mesopotamia outlined in chapter three, a landscape that was filled with sedentarists and mobile pastoralists from several different tribal groups that produced complex and dynamic political interactions. That Zimri-Lim acted both as head-of-state as well as a Simal leader who negotiated tribal networks is consistent with the Pluralist observations about the state. Pluralists emphasized that individuals who participate in

³ I have chosen to retain the phrase 'international relations' due to its all-pervasive use in political science. This nomenclature is also found in the discussion of the political relations among kings in the ancient Near East (e.g. Lafont, "Relations internationales."). At the same time, I recognize its potentially misleading nature and share the sentiments of Walker Connor that the terms nation and state should be distinguished and, therefore, a better description of the object of political scientists would be 'Interstate Relations' (see Connor, *Ethnonationalism*, 97). For me, I have used this term to designate a more narrowly defined form of international politics that was practiced among sovereigns (*šarri*), as opposed to, for example that which was practiced between other political functionaries, such as tribal leaders. The characteristics of the 'system' are summarized below.

the state may simultaneously be affiliated with other groups and fluidly navigate these various associations. Zimri-Lim was not defined only by his role as a king over a differentiated population and, therefore, he was not limited in his conduct of international politics to solely representing the interests of the state. Rather, he also was an active member of the Simal tribe and as such was able to pursue his interests using his identity as a tribal leader. In this chapter I focus on Zimri-Lim's role as the leader of the Simal tribe and the ways in which this tribe-based identity, when foregrounded in conduct of international politics, enabled and empowered his interactions with other kings and leaders who also emphasized their tribal identities. I will attempt to show that in these instances, and especially in his dealings with the Yamut-bal tribe, Zimri-Lim practiced a different policy in international politics, adopting a more idealist approach that evinced a staunch solidarity.

THE 'SYSTEM' OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DURING ZIMRI-LIM'S REIGN

At the outset, it is important to note that neither the king of Ashlakka nor that of the king of Kahat are known to have had any tribal affiliations, or at least that neither of these sovereigns ever foregrounded any such identity in the available sources. Rather, Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka and Kabiya of Kahat are consistently defined by their respective land or city and not by membership within a tribe. This is not to suggest that these kings did not interact with tribal populations or even have tribal affiliations. But the relationship Zimri-Lim had with Kabiya as well as with Ibal-Addu appears to have been heavily predicated on—and ultimately facilitated by—the king-based system of international relations that was in place at the time.

Zimri-Lim's relationships with sovereigns that did not share a sense of tribal leadership were facilitated by a largely formalized system for international politics. Inquiries into ancient Syro-Mesopotamian international relations have tended to emphasize the cuneiform collections from the Amarna age. The importance of the Amarna correspondence to the study of ancient international relations can be attributed, in part, to the discovery of the corpus from Tell el-Amarna during the nascence of Assyriology in 1887. Thus it was the first significant collection of international correspondence to be translated and studied. Additionally, the Amarna

letters boast lively dossiers from persons, such as Rib-Addi, Abdi-Ashirta, Abdi-Heba, and Labayu, many of which were written against the backdrop of the geography of the 'holy land' (Jerusalem and Shechem). Furthermore, these letters made repeated reference to *ḥapiru*, an unruly group from the Late Bronze Age who reminded early interpreters of these letters of biblical 'Hebrews'.⁴ Yet as Bertrand Lafont has demonstrated, the Amarna system of international relations was anticipated in the centuries preceding it. He explains,

[À] partir du moment où les royaumes amorrites se sont établis à travers l'ensemble du domaine syro-mésopotamien au début du II^e millénaire, un système spécifique de relations s'est peu à peu mis en place, caractérisé par des règles, des normes et des procédures particulières, permettant de gérer les multiples facettes des rapports établis entre eux.⁵

The system of international relations that began in the first half of the second millennium, as explicated by Lafont, then, contained most, if not all, of the components found in the latter Amarna system. And the system of international relations in the first half of the second millennium, just as that in the earlier Amarna age, was predicated on the foundational metaphor of kinship.⁶ That is, in-

⁴ Lafont has also observed, it is the El Amarna period that "...a retenu principalement l'attention jusqu'à présent à cause notamment de la riche correspondance diplomatique d'El Amarna, de la documentation d'ugarit et du grand nombre de traités, particulièrement dans les sources hittites, qui datent de ce temps" ("Relations internationales," 214); the *ḥapiru* are also relatively well documented in the Mari archives (see Durand, "Unité et diversités" and Durand, *Annuaire* [2004–5]). And regarding the system in the third millennium, see Weinfeld, "Initiation of Political Friendship in Ebla."

⁵ Lafont, "Relations internationales," 317; the earlier treatment of this topic by Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Eastern Asia," is also a noteworthy study for its exploration of the topic of international relations according to the sources from Mari.

⁶ For additional discussion, see *Ibid.*

ternational relations were a ‘family matter.’⁷ Furthermore, participation in this system required active engagement in the international economy, including tribute payments imposed by suzerains on vassals, annual *biltū*-payments as well as occasional gifts (*nēbeḫū*).⁸ Likewise, participants were obligated to fulfill military responsibilities in order to ensure the continued operation of this system. This included stationing military garrisons (*ṣābum birtum*) in a vassal’s land⁹ and the requirement of vassals to supply military troops to their suzerain.¹⁰ Participants also had obligations to contribute to other kings’ cults by taking part in the religious ceremonies and to patron the gods by whom they swore fidelity.¹¹

Perhaps the greatest difference that should be noted between the system of international relations during the Amarna Age and the system in place during the reign of Zimri-Lim was the number of participants and the disparity of power between them. Regarding the number of participants, Durand long ago noted the absence of a single state that dominated the international scene during the reign of Zimri-Lim:

[S]uite à l’extension du champ de vision du Proche-Orient que procure la correspondance retrouvée à Mari, disparaît totalement pour cette époque la dichotomie qui est de règle dans notre discipline entre << régions centrales >> et << périphérie >>. Il ne s’agit pas simplement de substituer une vision désormais plus complexe de la réalité à une opposition que ne recouvrait en fait que celle de << régions bien documentées >>

⁷ Cohen, “All in the Family;” Cohen and Westbrook, *Amarna Diplomacy*.

⁸ Lafont, “Relations internationales,” 250, n. 162; see also Lerouxel, “Les échanges de présents.”

⁹ A well-documented example of this comes from the dossier of Yamsum, the representative of the Zimri-Lim (*baṣṣanum*) in Ilan-sura.

¹⁰ Lafont, “Relations internationales,” 247–248.

¹¹ This was likely the reason why Zimri-Lim traveled to the west as far as the city of Ugarit. Likewise, numerous administrative texts from the archive of Mari record the many trips that Zimri-Lim’s vassals took to Mari to celebrate the feast of Eshtar. See also Pappi, “Religion and Politics at the Divine Table: The Cultic Travels of Zimri-Lim.”

à << zones épisodiquement ou fragmentairement documentées >>. Il faut aller plus loin et postuler l'absence de << centre >>.¹²

Zimri-Lim was contemporary with numerous other sovereigns that governed with equal or greater authority in the Near East. This lack of a single central political power is characteristic of a multipolar system.¹³ That is, international relations systems can be heuristically categorized as unipolar, bipolar, or varying degrees of multipolar. The multipolar system during the reign of Zimri-Lim may be summed up by the well-known letter of Itur-Asdu, who observed: "There is no king who is strong by himself."¹⁴ Itur-Asdu's perspective is confirmed by the fact that more than fifty other sovereigns are attested in the archives at Mari.¹⁵ At the same time, while intensely multipolar, the international correspondence from Zimri-Lim's reign also reveals that, in addition to Mari, at least five other political centers helped to anchor the system, including Aleppo, Babylon, Eshnunna, Larsa, and Elam.

As noted above, the system operated in keeping with the household metaphor. Within this system, then, a flexible hierarchy of sovereigns can be deduced from the kinship or household metaphors that were used in international communiqués. These household relationships provide a basis for reconstructing the relative asymmetrical and symmetrical power relationships between kings. For example, asymmetrical relations were conveyed by the well-known familial relations of 'father' (*abum*) and 'son' (*mārum*), in

¹² Durand, "Unité et diversités," 97.

¹³ The origins of this idea stem, in part, from Morton Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics*. Since Kaplan, see Jackson, "Polarity in International Systems;" Hart, J. A. "Power and Polarity in the International System;" Levy, "The Polarity of the System and International Stability;" Wayman and Morgan "Measuring Polarity in the International System."

¹⁴ A.487 24) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši LUGAL ša a-na ra-ma-ni-šu-ma da-an-nu* (published along with lines 22–27 in Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," 117–8. Cf. ARM 26.303 (and the commentary by Lafont, "Relations internationales," 222–223). Additionally, see the brief but salient remarks by Durand, "Peuplement," 113.

¹⁵ See Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 263–8.

which the 'father' was a sovereign with greater power than his 'son.' Likewise, a greater disparity in authority could be expressed in terms of 'lord' (*bēlum*) and 'servant' (*wardum*). Symmetrical relations, by comparison, conveyed equality by designating kings as 'brothers' (*aḫūm*).¹⁶ The letters reveal that kings' power and prestige were defined relative to one another using the metaphor of the family and household. Moreover, the sum of these rulers' relative statuses comprised a flexible hierarchical system that helped to stabilize international politics and that served as a guide for ancient kings in understanding their duties and obligations to other kings.

Within this relative system, Zimri-Lim simultaneously had at least four different statuses, and at least as many types of relationships relative to other contemporary sovereigns (Fig. 4.1). Collectively, Zimri-Lim's statuses *vis à vis* those of other contemporary kings reveal a pattern that signaled his position within the larger system. Zimri-Lim acknowledged the Sukkal of Elam to be his 'father.' The Sukkal of Elam was the only king whose status was consistently acknowledged by everyone to be greater than their own. At the same time, Zimri-Lim bore the title 'father' *vis à vis* Haya-sumu of Ilan-sura. Zimri-Lim cultivated a paternal relationship with the king of Ilan-sura,¹⁷ Haya-sumu, in order to facilitate his influence in the Habur triangle, which was cluttered with hundreds of towns, both large and small, that were organized into more than a dozen smaller polities. Because the system of international relations was so intensely multipolar, Haya-sumu served as a crucial ally for Zimri-Lim amidst this dense political landscape of the western Habur. Early in his reign, Zimri-Lim had made overtures to establish relations with Haya-sumu, marrying his daughter, Shimatum, to the king of Ilan-sura. Since Haya-sumu was one of the most proximate kings to the land of Apum, this event may have secured Haya-

¹⁶ Lafont, "Relations internationales," 237–8.

¹⁷ The town of Ilan-sura is perhaps best located at the present day ruins of Tell Farfara between the Jaghjagh and Jarrah Rivers (Wäfler, *Tall al-Hamidiya* 3). Cf. Guichard ("Au pays de la Dame de Nagar," 244), who has suggested Tell Sharisi.

sumu's support for Zimri-Lim's campaign to Shubat-Enlil.¹⁸ Then, again, within weeks of the second Yamina revolt and after Eshnunna had entered the war against Zimri-Lim, the Mariote king arranged for a second daughter, Kirrum, to be married by Haya-sumu.¹⁹ After the war had ended and Eshnunna had been forced out of the western Habur, Haya-sumu continued as a trusted political ally for Zimri-Lim in the region.

As it concerned other polities in the Habur, their statuses relative to Zimri-Lim may be best summed up by a Mariote military commander, who while stationed in Ilan-sura, recounted to Zimri-Lim that, "All of the kings assembled in Nahur before Haya-sumu and spoke in their assembly, saying 'There is no other lord and father besides Zimri-Lim and Haya-sumu.'" ²⁰ This carefully worded statement reveals that Zimri-Lim was the 'lord' of the kings of the western Habur and Haya-sumu was his 'son' and, hence, their 'father.' Zimri-Lim had deputized Haya-Sumu as a proxy Mariote authority in the western Habur. For example, Yamrus-El, the king of Isqa and Qa, by comparison, was considered in his missives to have been Zimri-Lim's 'servant,' disambiguating his subordinate status *vis à vis* Haya-sumu.

¹⁸ Lafont, "Les filles du roi de Mari," 118. For the tensions surrounding the taking of Shubat-Enlil, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 192–3 and also chapter five below.

¹⁹ Durand, "Trois études de Mari," 162–180; Lafont, "Les filles du roi de Mari," 117.

²⁰ ARM 26.347: 5) LUGAL.MEŠ *ka-lu-šu-nu i-na na-bu-ur*^{K1} 6) *ma-ḥa-ar ḥa-ià-sù-ú-[m]u* 7) *ip-ḥu-ru-ma i-na pu-uh-ri-šu-nu* 8) *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-ma šu-nu-ma* 9) *ul-la-an zi-im-ri-li-im* 10) *ù ḥa-ià-su-ú-mu* 11) *be-lum ù a-bu-um* 12) *ša-nu-um ú-ul i-ba-aš-šì*.

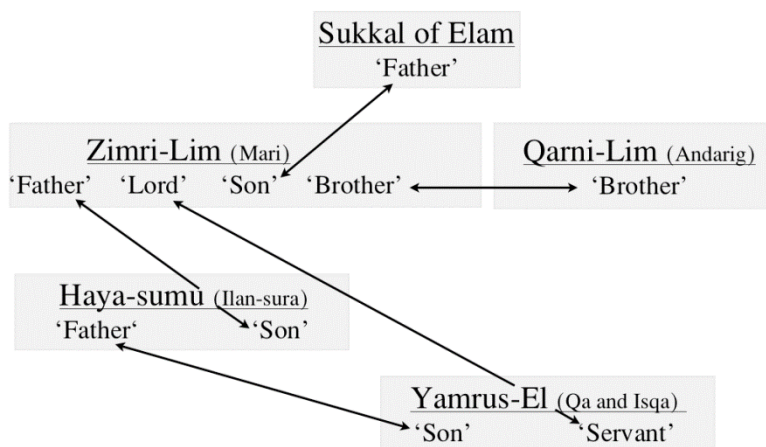


Fig. 4.1. Relative statuses within the system of international relations

While most of the kings of Ida-Maras assumed the status of servant in relationship with Zimri-Lim, in order to even more precisely convey the political hierarchy within the non-linear system of household metaphors, additional subtle distinctions were introduced. For example, one more dramatic status within this system of relative political power and prestige²¹ was that of 'lowly servant.' Likewise, other kings postured with one another claiming to be 'older or younger brothers,' as the situation allowed. This system, then, guided by the household metaphor provided a framework for the kings who participated in it and it offers a guide for investigating the history of Zimri-Lim's engagements with contemporary kings in the upper Jezira.

²¹ Lafont, "Relations internationales," 241.

ZIMRI-LIM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITH KINGS IN THE HABUR

Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations was focused on managing his interests in the upper Jezira and to this end his policy can only be described as one of *realpolitik*. Yet Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations with kings in the Habur, like Kabiya of Kahat and Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka, proved ineffective, in and of itself, to secure his interests in the region. The difficulties Zimri-Lim experienced within this system of international relations, especially as it concerned the region of the Habur, are recounted in a Mariote diplomatic report sent from Babylon during the middle of his reign. In this exchange the message of Zimri-Lim's diplomat, Itur-Asdu, is remarkably instructive. In this letter Itur-Asdu used the shared ideas in which the system of international relations was embedded to convey Zimri-Lim's uncertain political status. Itur-Asdu recounted his experiences in Babylon and how they reflected Zimri-Lim's uncertain standing with Hammurabi at a crucial moment, during the war with Eshnunna. Itur-Asdu reported that he arrived in the Babylonian court and was received in keeping with his sovereign's status within the international system. Itur-Asdu, however, described his reception as lukewarm on account of Zimri-Lim's unclear standing relative to several other kings from the upper Jezira.

He [the *sukkal ubari* of Hammu-rabi] asked me "Why do the kings of Shubartum continually write as 'brothers' to your lord and they do not write as 'sons.'" So I answered him thus: "(they write) both (as) 'brother' and 'son!' If I entered (before Hammu-rabi) first (and) he asks me about the wellness of my lord, then, I will give my message in his presence. I will (thereby) enter (before Hammu-rabi). Otherwise, I will not enter (before Hammu-rabi). Now inquire of him, so that I may present my message before him (and) let him speak with you!" I had many opportune words (with the *sukkal ubari*). He left, went, and passed along to his lord the entirety of my message that I spoke to him. Now, he [Hammu-rabi] inquired after

(your) well-being first and I gave my message. I have kept the word of my lord.²²

Zimri-Lim's connections with the kings of Shubartum—whether he was their 'father' or 'brother'—was crucial for framing his relationship with Hammu-rabi of Babylon. More importantly, that Itur-Asdu was not immediately received as Hammu-rabi's equal reflects Zimri-Lim's insecure status. That Hammu-rabi's queries about Zimri-Lim's standing were not baseless is confirmed by Itur-Asdu's loss for how to characterize his patron's diplomatic standing with the kings of Shubartum. As Guichard has commented, "Itûr-Asdû ne conteste pas l'existence du problème quand le *sukkal ubârî* de Babylone l'interpelle ironiquement sur ce sujet. Sa défense est plutôt embarrassée..."²³

Zimri-Lim's challenges within the system of international relations were not isolated to the moment recounted above by Itur-Asdu. Rather, several other instances of his fluctuating status as well as the statuses of his vassals are known. For example, in both Zimri-Lim's relations with Kabiya of Kahat and Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka there was at least one shift in the household metaphors that symbolized the nature of these relationships. The changes in the statuses of kings have occasionally been noted (for example, going

²² A.2968: 13) [*ki-a*]-*am i-ša-la-an-ni um-ma-a-mi* 14) *am-mi-nim-ma* LU-GAL.MEŠ *ša [ma-a-at š]u-bar-tim at-ḫu-tam a-na še-er be-lī-ka iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ru* 15) *ù aš-ša-šum ma-ru-tam [a i-ša-ap-pa-]ru ù a-na-ku ki-a-am a-pu-ul-[š]u um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 16) *lu-ù at-ḫu-tum lú-ù* [*ma-ru-tu*]*m šum-ma* ^r*e*¹-*ru-ub-ma ma-ab-ri-tam šu-l[um be-lī-š]a i-ša-al-la-an-ni* 17) *ù [e₄-mi i-na ma-[ab-ri-š]u a-n]a-ad-di-š[n]* *lu-ru-ub ú-la-šum ú-ul e-er-ru-ub* 18) *ù ki-ma i-na pa-ni-[š]u* ^r*[e₄-mi¹ a-na-ad-di-nu [š]a-al-šum li-ig-be-e[k-ku]m a-[w]a-a-at ri-it-tim* 19) [*ma-d]a-tim aš-[ba-at i]-ru-um-ma il-li-ik a-na be-lī-šum te₄-ma-am ma-^rlú* *a[d]-bu-bu-šum ú-te-er-ma* 20) [*i-na-an-n]a² i-na ma-[ab-ru-tim] šu-ul-ma-am i-ša-la-an-ni ù [e₄-mi ad-di-[in]* ^r*a¹-wu-ut be-lī-ia aš-šum-ù[š]* (published in Guichard, "<< La malédiction de cette tablette est très dure >>"). Other disputes about the status of sovereigns include ARM 26.384, ARM 27.162, FM 2.117 and A.3274 (on the latter, see Charpin, "Données nouvelles sur the chronologie des souverains d'Ešnunna," 63–4).

²³ Guichard, "<< La malédiction de cette tablette est très dure! >>," 28.

from the ‘brother’ to ‘son’ of Zimri-Lim), but less attention has been paid to the circumstances that led to these changes or to the significance of these changes for considering how Zimri-Lim conducted international relations. The following, therefore, will consider these developments within their historical contexts and show that these shifting statuses were symptomatic of the Mariote king’s *realpolitik* when dealing with kings that did not have explicit tribal connections. Additionally, this analysis demonstrates that Zimri-Lim’s practice of *realpolitik* with these kings of the Habur ultimately proved unsuccessful, by itself, to secure the Mariote king’s interests in the region.

Zimri-Lim’s relations with Kabiya of Kahat

Kahat was a prominent polity in the Habur that was located along the southern stretch of the Jaghjagh River (*Hirmaš*)²⁴ and which served as an *entrepôt* on the route that led from Qattunan to Shubat-Enlil.²⁵ At the same time, Simal mobile pastoralists (*banūm*) transected its environs and grazed their herds in the region.²⁶ Historically, Kahat was an important polity, in part, because it held the potential to politically consolidate many of the smaller polities within the land of Ida-Maras. Moreover, it is no doubt because Kahat was a prominent and strategic region, being centrally located among the crowded political landscape of the Habur basin, that it served as a lightning rod attracting repeated military strikes. Yahdun-Lim, for example, faced off with Shamshi-Adad at Nagar and thereafter attempted to consolidate Mariote interests in the Habur triangle with an expedition to Kahat.²⁷ Then, several years after the death of Shamshi-Adad and the collapse of his state in

²⁴ Kahat has been identified by most as tell Barri (e.g. Pecorella, *Tell Barri/Kabat*; Wäfler, *Tall al-Hamidiya* 3), although Guichard has suggested it should be found at Tall al-Hamidiya (Guichard, “Au pays de la Dame de Nagar,” 244; followed by Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 51).

²⁵ ARM 1.21 (= LAPO 16.418) shows that Kahat was a midway point on the route from Qattunan to Shubat-Enlil, though Kahat is not (to date) known in the Old Assyrian itineraries.

²⁶ ARM 28.126 (= LAPO 17.727).

²⁷ Charpin, “Kingdom of Kahat,” 67–69.

upper Mesopotamia, Samshi-Adad's harem sought refuge at Kahat under the guard of Yarim-Lim, a governor who protected the city for Ishme-Dagan. Kahat thus became a center from which the rump state of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia sought to retain its control of the Habur triangle, as is alluded to in an exchange between the king of Eshnunna and Zimri-Lim during the opening months of the latter's reign.²⁸

Zimri-Lim captured the city of Kahat *en route* to the cities of Tilla and Qirdahat during the first months of ZL 1,²⁹ and he commemorated his victory with the year-name: "The year Zimri-Lim captured Kahat."³⁰ Because Kahat was tactically significant for controlling the southern and western regions of the Habur, the Mariote king installed Kabiya as a vassal shortly after a campaign to the city in ZL 2. Kabiya was a part of Zimri-Lim's efforts to secure his interests in the Habur and, therefore, the Mariote king began his relations with Kabiya as a 'father.'³¹ The dossier of Kabiya consists of ten letters written by or to him, which can be dated between ZL 2 and the onset of the war with the Elamites in ZL 10. The majority of these letters are fragmentary. Collectively, however, these missives are significant because they document the changing status of Kabiya from Zimri-Lim's 'son' to his 'servant;' and more importantly, they illustrate how Zimri-Lim's *realpolitik* failed and ultimately led him to support the assassination of Kabiya in ZL 10.

²⁸ Charpin, "Le traité entre Ibâl-pi-El II d'Ešnunna et Zimri-Lim de Mari," 157–8; cf. the remarks by Guichard ("Le Šubartu," 125) regarding the absence of Kahat from *FM* 6.5, which dates to the first months of Zimri-Lim's reign.

²⁹ *ARM* 10.31 (= LAPO 18.1223) indicates Kahat was captured on the same campaign as Tilla and Qirdahat. Guichard, "Le Šubartu," 152 n. 132 cites A.3558 (unpublished), which reveals the Kahat was taken first, before Tilla and Qirdahat.

³⁰ ZL 1 = MU *zi-im-ri-li-im ka-ḥa-at iṣ-ba-tu*. For a discussion of the problem surrounding this year name, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 257–60.

³¹ There is no evidence of dynastic marriage between Kabiya and Zimri-Lim, either at the former's accession or at any other point during the reign of Zimri-Lim.

The change in the relationship between Zimri-Lim and Kabiya from ‘father-son’ to ‘lord-servant’ should be situated amidst the historical events of ZL 6, when Kabiya joined Kurda in a revolt against the Mariote administration in the Habur and Sinjar. Prior to this date, in ZL 4, Kabiya along with the vast majority of kings in the Habur had rallied to support Zimri-Lim against the Eshnunnean advance into the Sinjar and Habur regions.³² In the course of the war against Eshnunna, Zimri-Lim and his allies confronted the Eshnunnean army at Kahat.³³ By the end of ZL 5 Eshnunna’s advance into the Habur and Sinjar had been successfully stopped, which led to a peace between Zimri-Lim and Ibal-pi-El of Eshnunna.

In the aftermath of the war, however, the region was left destabilized. This moment of uncertainty presented an opportunity for one ambitious regional ruler, Bunu-Eshtar the Numha king of Kurda, to expand his control in the Habur. Yet Bunu-Eshtar was not alone in his challenge to Zimri-Lim’s interests in the region; Kabiya of Kahat also sought to expand his political control in the southern Habur, especially in the small state of Hazakkanum. He did this by supporting a claimant (*kaltum*) named Akin-Amar to the throne of the neighboring polity of Hazakkanum. Thus Kabiya, and indirectly Akin-Amar, found an ally in Bunu-Eshtar, who was the king of Kurda. As David Sevaliè has summarized the situation:

[S]embra pertanto possibile ricostruire la piramide del potere di cui faceva parte Akîn-amar nel seguente modo: Bûnû-Eštar di Kurdâ rappresentava il vertice, Kabiya di Kahat il grado intermedio e Akîn-amar a Hazakkanum il livello più basso.³⁴

³² Kabiya is found among the list of Mari’s allies in A.3591. The preliminary publication of this letter may be found in Guichard, “Au pays de la Dame de Nagar,” 256–7.

³³ See A.1179, which is signaled in Durand, “Peuplement,” 141. This should date to Zimri-Lim’s expedition to Ashlakka in ZL 4. As noted above, Kahat was a strategic locale for military operations in the region. It is also clear that it was well fortified (A.315+). For a treatment of fortification systems in this period, in general, see Burke, *Walled up to Heaven*.

³⁴ Sevaliè, “Mari e Hazakkanum,” 128.

A clear hierarchy of kings had developed in the region to oppose Zimri-Lim.

Kabiya's decision to replace Hazakkanum's king is somewhat surprising, since Huzirum had allied with Zimri-Lim alongside Kabiya during the war with Eshnunna.³⁵ Nevertheless, it is clear that Kabiya supported Akin-Amar as a rival to Huzirum and as a claimant to the throne at Hazakkanum. In the opening months of ZL 6, thanks to the efforts of Kabiya, Akin-Amar's bid for the control of Hazakkanum succeeded. Yet, the event drew the ire of Zimri-Lim, Qarni-Lim, and Haya-Sumu. Haya-Sumu, the king of Ilansura and ally of Zimri-Lim, reportedly responded, "I will quietly return that man [Huzirum] to the throne of his father."³⁶ ARM 26.357 provides insight into the tensions between Kahat and Mari at this moment. This letter reports that

[T]he servants of my lord [Zimri-Lim] drove back the troops of Kahat and they left behind six bodies. Moreover, each of them (the aforementioned servants of Zimri-Lim) captured a (prisoner of war) alive... A significant victory was had over [the man] of Kahat. The servants of my lord were victorious!³⁷

This missive reveals that the tensions between Zimri-Lim and Kabiya of Kahat had escalated to the point that Mariote troops had militarily engaged men from Kahat—killing and capturing soldiers—as a result of the Akin-Amar affair. The uneasy relationship between these two kings as a result of this conflict is nicely captured in the summary of an unpublished letter of Itur-Asdu (A.3852) cited by Guichard and Sevaliè, on which they comment:

Le gouverneur de Nahur [Itur-Asdu], en effet rapporte qu'il s'est plaint auprès de Kabiya des propos séditeux qui ont cir-

³⁵ Guichard has suggested that Hazakkanum should be identified with tell Qarasa, East of Kahat ("Au pays de la Dame de Nagar," 144).

³⁶ ARM 26.347.

³⁷ ARM 26.357: 25') ÌR.MEŠ *ša be-lí-ia ša-ba-am ka-ḥa-ta-ye-em*^{K1} *is-ki-pu-ma* 26') 6 LÚ.MEŠ *pa-ag-ri id-di-ú ù ka-lu-šu ba-al-tà-am is-ba-at* ... 28') *da-am-ḫi-du-um dam-qí-iš* 29') [*e-lí?* LÚ *ka-ḥa-ta-yi-im*^{K1} *dí-iké* ÌR.MEŠ *ša be-lí-ia* 30') [*ina lî-tim iṣ-ṣi-ṣu*.

culé à son sujet et de l'inimitié de Kabiya à l'égard du roi de Mari. Dans sa réponse, le roi de Kahat justifie sa rébellion tout en se disant prêt à une réconciliation.³⁸

Kabiya actively opposed the interests of his former patron, Zimri-Lim, and supported Akin-Amar for the throne at Hazakkanum.

It is in the context of the cooling of relations between Mari and Kahat in ZL 6 that Zimri-Lim's missive to Kabiya, *ARM* 28.131, comes into focus. Kabiya's support for Akin-Amar at Hazakkanum represented a sheer-point in the relationship between Zimri-Lim and Kabiya. *ARM* 28.131, then, was sent from Zimri-Lim to Kabiya and served as a defense of the Mariote king's involvement in the region of Kahat and refuted Kabiya's complaint about his present circumstances. Kabiya had insinuated that Mari's administration of the Habur was heavy-handed and reminiscent of Zimri-Lim's conquest of Kahat five years earlier: "The persons who were plundered, are they not still being despoiled?" Yet Zimri-Lim curtly dismissed Kabiya's complaint with agitated ripostes:

None of these persons were ever despoiled! When I captured Kahat, what plunder did I take away? Or when I passed through did I capture one or (many) villages? This is how I have despoiled these persons? What is this message that you have written to me?³⁹

³⁸ Guichard and Sevaliè, "Akin-amar, Kabiya et le << guerre de Bunû-Eštar >>."

³⁹ *ARM* 28.131: 8) L[Ú].MEŠ ša ha-ab-lu la iḫ-[ha-ab-bu-lu] 9) mi-im-<ma> LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu 10) ú-ul ha-ab-lu 11) ka-ha-at^{K1} aš-ba-[at-ma] 12) i-na ša-al-la-tim [mi-nam] 13) ú-š[e]-šé-em ù-lu-[ú] 14) i-na e-teš-qí-[ia] 15) iš-te-en [ú]-lu-ma k[ap-ra-tim] 16) am-šu-ub-m[a] 17) i-na ki-a-am LÚ.MEŠ [š]u-nu-[ti] 18) aḫ-bu-u[ā] 19) mi-nu-um ša-pa-ru-um ša a[t-ta] 20) a-na še-ri-ia ta-aš-p[u-ru-am]. This event is also recalled in A.489 (see Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir" 323 n.131; see also *ARM(T)* 26/1 186 and Durand, "Peuplement," 116 n. 21 and 186 n. 413), which is a fragmentary letter issuing from the Mariote chancellery. The author, Ripi'i-Dagan, sought to compel loyalty from an unknown recipient by recounting Zimri-Lim's earlier military exploits. He exclaimed: "... when my lord [Zimri-Lim] accomplished the defeat of Ishme-Dagan and expelled Yasmah-Addu from Mari... By

A deep rift existed between Kahat and Mari in the middle of ZL 6 as a result of the Akin-Amar affair. In response to this, it seems that Kabiya sought to redress his relationship with Zimri-Lim in ZL 8 by traveling to the south of Mari, to Der, for the feast of Eshtar with the gift of 50 jars of wine.⁴⁰ And again in the following year he sent a gift of cattle to Zimri-Lim at Mari.⁴¹ Yet the rupture in the relationship between Zimri-Lim and Kabiya had not been fully repaired, for after the events of ZL 6 Kabiya addressed Zimri-Lim as his 'lord' and no longer as his 'father.' Thus ARM 28.129 reflects this new reality for Kabiya, who wrote: "Speak to my lord! Thus says Kabiya, your servant: You wrote to muster my elite guard. The elite guard is readied..."⁴² Kabiya now wrote to Zimri-

the command of Dagan and Itur-Mer my lord accomplished the defeat of his enemies. He turned his cities into tells and ruins." (2") [*i-nu-ma be-lî* 3") *da-am₇-da-am ša miš-me-^dda-gan i-du-ku* 4") *ù mi^a-ās-ma-ab^dIM i-na ma-rî^{K1}* 8") *i-na qî-bi-ù^dda-gan ù^di-tûr-me-er* 9") *be-lî da-am₇-da-am ša na-ak-ri-š i-du-uk-ma a-la-ni-šu* 10") *a-na ti-li-im ù ka-ar-mi-im ú-te-er ù ka-m[a]-ri-šu-nu iš-ta-ak-ka-an-ma*). The mention of the defeat of Ishme-Dagan and Yasmah-Addu in the same breath makes it plain that the events in view are those of the first months of Zimri-Lim's reign, since this is the only time when both sons of Shamshi-Adad were simultaneously on the political scene with Zimri-Lim. The primary city at which Zimri-Lim is known to have confronted Ishme-Dagan was Kahat, which the former then commemorated in his year-names. Zimri-Lim's victory at Kahat was symbolic of a defeat of the "Great King," a perception that was reinforced by the fact that among the prisoners taken was Akatiya, the wife of Shamshi-Adad, and the mother of Ishme-Dagan (Ziegler, *La population féminine des palais*, 119–20; "Le har-em du vaincu," 10, n. 44; Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 18, 267).

⁴⁰ See M.11359+ and M. 10647 (cited in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 211, n. 384).

⁴¹ ARM 7.91.

⁴² 1) *a-na b[e]-[i]-ia* 2) *qî-bi-ma* 3) [*u*]*m-[m]a ka-bi-ia* 4) *ÏR-k[a]-a-ma* 5) [*a*]*š-[š]um LÚ.MEŠ sa-ag-bi-ia* 6) *a-na pa-qa-dim ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *LÚ.MEŠ sa-ag-bu-ia nu-ḫu-ma*. *Sagbu*-troops were used as mobile agents that helped quell unrest, as is best illustrated in ARM 26.449 (see Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 380–1, who translates "troupe de contrôle"). Their elite status is inferred from the root $\sqrt{\text{sgb}}$, which is well attested in West Semitic with the meaning 'to be high, exulted' (cf. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of*

Lim as his 'lord,' assuming again the status of 'servant' rather than 'son.'

Earlier in their relationship, Kabiya had been indebted to Zimri-Lim for his position as king at Kahat and, consequently, he began his reign as Zimri-Lim's 'son.' At the start, the coordination between the two sovereigns was extensive and their solidarity, which was fostered within the system of international relations, appeared to be secure. Yet after Zimri-Lim's initial installation of Kabiya and the two kings' participation in a successful anti-Eshnunna alliance, Kabiya sided against Zimri-Lim in his conflict with Bunu-Eshtar in ZL 6. As a result of Kabiya's decision to support Bunu-Eshtar and ultimately Akin-Amar, Zimri-Lim reconfigured his relationship with Kabiya and Kahat (ARM 28.131). In fact, the Mariote king would soon come to actively support Kabiya's removal. When regional tensions arose again in ZL 10 as the Elamites were threatening the Habur and Sinjar, Kabiya's loyalties were quickly questioned by Haya-Sumu, the king of Ilan-sura, who had opposed Kabiya and Akin-Amar in favor of Huzirum's bid for the throne of Hazakkanum. Haya-sumu took matters into his own hands and suggested that Kabiya be removed. It seems that Zimri-Lim quietly went along with Haya-sumu's efforts to assassinate and replace Kabiya of Kahat. A report sent by the king of Qa and Isqa, Yamras-El, recounted that this operation was successful: "Haya-sumu gave troops to Attaya. He seized Kahat and Kabiya was killed."⁴³ A similar report also came in from the governor of Qattanum, albeit second-hand, that reported that Haya-sumu and his troops "... went to Kahat and captured Kabiya, seized the city. And (as for) Attaya who was dwelling with Haya-sumu, he ascend-

Mari, who translates 'scout'). ARM 28.124 is likely contemporary with this letter.

⁴³ M.9623: 5) [M^b]a-ià-su-mu-ú 6) ṣa-ba-am a-na at-ti-ia 7) id-di-in-ma 8) ka-ḥa-at^{KI} iṣ-ba-at 9) ù ka-bi-ia id-du-ku (see Charpin, "De vallée du Tigre au << triangle du Habur >>," 98; Charpin, "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kahat," 79; for collations, especially of the sender of the letter, see Durand, LAPO 17 549.

ed to his throne.”⁴⁴ Yet it was only Yamsum’s first-hand report that revealed the degree of Zimri-Lim’s involvement:

[T]roops went to Kahat, when they arrived they seized the city, and captured Kabiya. In the morning Attaya, who was dwelling with Haya-sumu, ascended to his throne. Now 20 men, servants of my lord (Zimri-Lim) are attending to him. Haya-sumu has said “until the situation calms down, let those troops attend to him.”⁴⁵

Yamsum’s letter to Zimri-Lim reveals that the Mariote king at least welcomed, if not was complicit in, the assassination of Kabiya. And thus this missive provides a glimpse into Zimri-Lim’s practice of *realpolitik* in his dealing with Kabiya as a means to his larger end of securing Mariote interests in the region.

Zimri-Lim’s relations with Kabiya, then, provide an initial example of how the Mariote king’s conduct of international relations with Kabiya was driven by practical concerns. Indicative of this fact was the fluctuating status of Kabiya *vis à vis* Zimri-Lim, which reflected the initial patronage established by Zimri-Lim’s installation of Kabiya in ZL 2 and the subsequent tumultuous events of ZL 6 and the Akin-Amar affair. As will be shown in the second half of this chapter, Zimri-Lim’s *realpolitik* in his dealings with kings such as Kabiya was markedly different from his practices used when dealing with kings who foregrounded their roles as tribal leaders in the region.

⁴⁴ ARM 27.86: 10) *a-na ka-ḥa-at^{K1} il-li-ku-ma* 11) *ṁka-bi-ia ik-šu-du* 12) *a-lam* {o o} *iš-ba-tu* 13) *ù at-ta-a-i[a]* 14) *ša it-ti ḥa-ià-sù-ù-um wa-aš-bu* 15) *a-na* G¹⁵GU.ZA-*šu i-ru-ub* (see also ARM 16.317 for Yamsum’s report to Zimri-Lim about the same matter).

⁴⁵ ARM 26.317: 7) *ša-bu-um* 8) *a-na ka-ḥa-at^{K1} iš-ba-tu* 9) *ki-ma ka-ša-di i-šu-nu-ù-ma* 10) *a-lam ka-ḥa-at^{K1} iš-ba-tu* 11) *ù ka-bi-ia ik-šu-du* 12) *i-na mu-uš-te-er-ti-š[u]* 13) *ṁat-ta-a-[ma?]* 13) *ša it-ti ḥa-ià-s[u-mu-ù wa-aš-bu]* 15) *a-na* G¹⁵GU.ZA-*šu i-[ru-ub]* 16) *i-na-an-na* 20 LÚ.[MEŠ ÌR-du.MEŠ] 17) *ša be-li-ia i-na r[e-šì-šu i-zi-zi-zi]* 18) *ṁḥa-ià-su-mu-ù ki-a-[am iq-b]i* 19) *um-ma šu-ù-ma a-di a-wa-tum i-nu-ub-ḥa* 20) LÚ *ša-bu-um šu-ù i-na re-šì-šu li-iz-zi-zi*.

Zimri-Lim's relations with Ibal-Addu, Shadum-Adal and Adal-shenni

The interactions between Mari and Kahat were not an isolated example of Zimri-Lim's *realpolitik* in international relations. Rather, Zimri-Lim's conduct of international relations forms a pattern, as becomes evident from a closer look at his dealing with Ibal-Addu, the king of Ashlakka. Ashlakka was a polity in the north-central Habur⁴⁶ that provided grazing land for mobile pastoralists (*ḥanûm*) and their herds. Much like Kahat, Simal mobile pastoralist populations seem to have played a role in constraining the political loyalties of the region during Zimri-Lim's reign.⁴⁷ Ashlakka, like Kahat, was an urban center in the Habur that harbored aspirations to consolidate large portions of the populations in Ida-Maras. Like Kabiya, Zimri-Lim had installed Ibal-Addu at Ashlakka after his capture of the city in ZL 3. After raising Ibal-Addu to the throne, he married his daughter, Inib-sharri, to the new king at Ashlakka.⁴⁸

At his accession, which was concomitant with the onset of the war with Eshnunna, Ibal-Addu expressed his concerns about the volatility in the current system of international relations. He lamented a lack of 'family values' among his fellow sovereigns at this moment, complaining that 'brother has abandoned brother.'⁴⁹ On

⁴⁶ Ishme-Addu, king of Ashlakka, described his city as being "in the middle of the land" (*ina qablūt matim*; A.3206 in Charpin, "Un souverain éphémère en Ida-Maras: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum," 176; cf. Durand, *ARM(T)*, 2/1, 143). Ashnakkum, which was in constant contact and conflict with Ashlakka, may have been situated to the north, where it controlled the region of Urkish (*ARM* 28.44^{bis}), which was located near the origins of the Daraa (for the identification of Ashnakkum with Chagar Bazar, see Guichard, "Le Šubartu," 139; more generally see Kupper, *ARM(T)* 28, 139).

⁴⁷ This matter is briefly discussed above as it pertains to the Habur, more generally (see chapter three, the section entitled, "Simal Mobile Pastoralists' Interactions with Sedentary Populations in Habur"). As it concerns Kahat, more specifically, see *ARM* 28.55, 62, 65, and 78; *FM* 8.3.

⁴⁸ This military victory is commemorated in the year-name for ZL 4 (Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 257–259).

⁴⁹ *ARM* 28.48: 52) *a-ḥu a-ḥa-[a]m* 53) [*i-ṣi-ib*]-*ma*.

the one hand, this statement would prove prescient, foreshadowing the breakdown in the relationship between Zimri-Lim and his 'son,' Kabiya, in the aftermath of this war. On the other hand, Ibal-Addu's complaint is ironic, for it anticipated his own history, too. Ibal-Addu's relationship with Zimri-Lim would be one of unmet expectations. Ibal-Addu, on two different occasions, sought to re-frame his relationship with Zimri-Lim as a 'son' rather than as a 'servant.' Yet these ambitions would ultimately exasperate Ibal-Addu, for Zimri-Lim would resist his overtures for such a relationship and follow more practical policies, a *realpolitik*, which ultimately motivated an ill-fated attempt by Ibal-Addu to throw off Mariote sovereignty in ZL 13.

The dossier of Ibal-Addu contains thirty-three letters,⁵⁰ not including the missives of his wife, Inib-sharri, the daughter of Zimri-Lim.⁵¹ Ibal-Addu's career is documented from the earliest moments in Zimri-Lim's reign, when the Mariote king campaigned against the cities along the central Euphrates River Valley, and it can be traced in the sources at Mari until the very end of Zimri-Lim's reign, in ZL 13. The earliest sources pertaining to Ibal-Addu record the events before Ibal-Addu himself had even become the king at Ashlakka. After Shamshi-Adad died, Ibal-Addu had hoped to recapture his ancestral throne at Ashlakka. To this end, he supplied Zimri-Lim with support in his conquest of Terqa and his subsequent capture of Mari, hoping Zimri-Lim would return the favor. Confident that Zimri-Lim would recapture his capital city of Mari and in anticipation of his own accession to his ancestral throne, Ibal-Addu assumed the status of Zimri-Lim's 'son' in his earliest correspondence.⁵² It is remarkable that Ibal-Addu adopted the status of Zimri-Lim's 'son' at this moment, even before he had ascended to his ancestral throne at Ashlakka. Perhaps it was because his ancestors bore this relation to Yahdun-Lim, for Ibal-Addu recalled that, "Previously my father and [the father of] my father

⁵⁰ In addition to those published in *ARM* 28, see *FM* 8.3, 10.

⁵¹ *ARM* 2.112–3; *ARM* 10.73–9.

⁵² *ARM* 28.77 (see Kupper, "Le débuts du règne d'Ibâl-Addu").

walked before Yahdun-Lim.”⁵³ Whatever the case, the expectant Ibal-Addu considered his support for Zimri-Lim to have been instrumental in recreating the political order that had existed prior to the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and thus he anticipated that he would be Zimri-Lim’s ‘son’ in this new system.

In reality, however, Ibal-Addu did not regain control of Ashlakka in the months after Zimri-Lim’s accession. Zimri-Lim decided to defer repayment for Ibal-Addu’s assistance and not to satisfy his aspirations for kingship until it was practical for the Mariote king. Then, in ZL 3, Shadum-Adal, the king of Ashlakka, began to threaten Zimri-Lim’s interests in the Habur.⁵⁴ In response, Zimri-Lim led a military campaign to Ashlakka in ZL 3 that unseated Shadum-Adal and that replaced Shadum-Adal with Ibal-Addu. Zimri-Lim considered his victory over Ashlakka significant enough to commemorate in the year-name for the following year (ZL 4): ‘the year Zimri-Lim captured Ashlakka.’⁵⁵ But Zimri-Lim’s victory over Shadum-Adal and installation of Ibal-Addu did not produce the type of relationship to which Ibal-Addu had originally aspired, for at the moment of his accession Ibal-Addu was designated as Zimri-Lim’s ‘servant,’ not his ‘son.’⁵⁶ That Ibal-Addu’s status as Zimri-Lim’s ‘servant’ was a demotion is clear not only from Ibal-Addu’s earlier letter to Zimri-Lim, in which he addressed the latter as ‘father,’ but also in contrast with the status of Ibal-Addu’s rival, the previous king of Ashlakka, Shadum-Adal, who had held the status as Zimri-Lim’s ‘son.’⁵⁷

⁵³ ARM 28.48: 5) *iš-tu pu-na-ma a-bi* 6) [*ù a-bi a-bi*]-*ia wa-ar-ki* 7) [*dia-ab-d*]*u-li-im il-li-ku*.

⁵⁴ See ARM 28.44, 96, and A.488+ (signaled by Guichard, “Le Šubartum,” 139 with partial transcription 148, n. 108).

⁵⁵ MU *zi-im-ri-li-im ka-ḥa-a*^{K1} *iš-ba-tu* (see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 257–259).

⁵⁶ ARM 28.48, which dates to ZL 3; see Guichard, “Le Šubartum,” 147–8.

⁵⁷ FM 6.8 is the only letter of Shadum-Adal (for the date see, Guichard, “Le Šubartum,” esp. 146). Ibal-Addu’s demotion was similar to that experienced at this same moment by Adal-shenni of Burundum, who had

Upon his accession to the throne, Ibal-Addu supported Zimri-Lim both during the war with Eshnunna in the years that followed (ZL 3-5) as well as during the period of the revolt by Bunu-Eshtar and Kabiya in ZL 6 (discussed above). And after these events, Ibal-Addu elaborated his dutiful service to Zimri-Lim and wrote once more to the king of Mari as a ‘son’ (*ARM* 28.78). What is striking about this shift in Ibal-Addu’s status at this moment was that it was concomitant with his active harboring of several *kal-tū*, or aspiring kings, that rivaled sovereigns enthroned at neighboring polities in the Habur. As was the case with Akin-Amar, discussed above, *kal-tū* were those who made claims to be rightful kings, being descendants of elite or royal families who rivaled other would-be or already installed kings.⁵⁸ First, Ibal-Addu is alleged to have supported a rival claimant to the throne of Zalluhan. Zakura-Abum, the king of Zalluhan, complained to Zimri-Lim and insisted that the Mariote king intervene and force Ibal-Addu to return his *kal-tum*. When Zimri-Lim agreed to Zakura-Abum’s request, Ibal-Addu wrote to Zimri-Lim to reconsider his decision.

Hadnu-Amurru and his brothers are staying [wi]th me; I have
[giv]en them households at Ashushik. But while my lord was

begun his reign as Zimri-Lim’s equal, but whom Ibal-Addu now reported was Zimri-Lim’s ‘son;’ (cf. *ARM* 28.60 and *ARM* 28.43).

⁵⁸ To date, this word is known only from the palace archive at Mari where it is spelled *ki-il-ti* as in *ARM* 28.53 (see also *ARM* 28.115 *ki-il-ti* (l.8), *ki-il-[ti]* (41), *ki-il-t[am]* (l. 47); cf. *ke-le-et* in *ARM* 10.85.) and *ka-al-ti* as in A.1215 (see also M.6062+ and M.6493 (duplicates), *ARM* 26.312, and 377; cf. the abstract form *ka-al-tu-ut* in *ARM* 28.44:28). The vowel *i* in the initial syllable of the first form is the result of the following liquid consonant, /l/, thus the second spelling reveals that the word is a nominal form of the *pars*-type. Concerning the etymology of this word, Durand reasons that since, “Le *kaltum*, *keltum*, étant toujours un homme, le -t ne peut être que radical...” (Durand, “Peuplement,” 183 n. 388). He adds that although the writing with the TI-sign indicates the Akkadian root did not have an emphatic consonant, the most likely origin for this word is the West-Semitic root *√qlt*, where the cognate verbal form in Aramaic connotes receiving or harboring a refugee (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1374–5) and the Hebrew nominal form *miqlaṭ* designates a refuge or place of asylum.

[sta]ying in Nahur, Zakura-Abum [arri]ved before my lord saying “My *kiltum* is [dwe]lling with Ibal-[Addu].” So I responded to him in the presence of my lord, “If that were so, my lord would give those men to you.” Then, my lord spoke to Zakura-Abum saying “I will return those [me]n, your brothers to you.” Perhaps my lord [should not send back] that *kaltum* to [Zakura-Abum].⁵⁹

The pathos concerning Hadnu-Amurru, Zakura-Abum’s *kaltum*, arose from the fact that *kaltū* posed serious challenges to their rivals. They were often sustained by patrons, who helped to raise them to the status of *kaltūtum*,⁶⁰ and supported them in their bids for their ancestral thrones. Thus Zakura-Abum’s heated response to Zimri-Lim was not necessarily inappropriate given the threat that Hadnu-Amurru posed.

Second, Ibal-Addu harbored the *kaltum* of Yaphur-Lim of Izallu. In the case of Yaphur-Lim’s *kaltum* the implications for Zimri-Lim’s interests in the Habur are spelled out. Yaphur-Lim made his complaint to Zimri-Lim:

Is what Ibal-Addu doing good? When my lord was in Nahur I spoke to my lord about my *kiltum*, who was dwelling with Ibal-Addu. My lord summoned Ibal-Addu and questioned him saying, “Where is that man?” And Ibal-Addu answered my lord saying, “He resides in Talhayum.” My lord, then, asked Ibal-Addu “When will that man arrive?” And he answered you, “He will arrive tomorrow.” (Yet) that man is in Ashlakka! He has

⁵⁹ ARM 28.53: 4) [m]ba-ad-na-am-mu-ru ù LÚ.MEŠ a-ab-ḫu-šu 5) [m]a-ab-ri-ia úš-bu i-na a-šu-ú-ik^{K1} É.HÁ 6) [ad-d]i-in-šu-nu-<š>-im ù i-nu-ma be-lí i-na na-ḫu-ur^{K1} 7) [úš-b]u m za-ku-ra-a-bu ma-ḫa-ar be-lí-[a ik-š]u-da-an-ni 8) [um-ma]-a-mi LÚ ki-il-ti ú-ti i-ba-a[l-^dIM wa]-šib 9) [a-n]a-ku IGI be-lí-ia ki-a-am a-pu-ul-šu u[m-ma-a-mi] 10) [vu-d]i be-lí LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti i-na-di-na-kum ‘ú’ 11) [be-ḷ]i a-na za-ku-ra-a-bu ki-a-am iq-[b]i [u]m-ma-[a-mi] 12) [LÚ.ME]Š a-ab-ḫi-ka lu-te-ra-kum as-sú-u[r-ri be-lí] 13) [ki-i]l-ti ‘šu’-nu-ti 14) a-na [za-ku-ra-a-bu] 15) [la-a ú-te-ra-šu-nu-ti]. For a discussion of when Zimri-Lim’s visited Nahur, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 209; cf. A.777 (Kupper, “Zimri-Lim et ses vassaux,” 181).

⁶⁰ The abstract form *ka-al-tu-ut* is attested in ARM 28.44:28.

repeatedly told my lord lies! ... Now Ibal-Addu provided that man with a house, fields, grain and everything he needs and he told him “Don’t worry about anyone at all...” Now let my lord see what Ibal-Addu is doing. He will raise a *kiltum* as (if he is) a great household!⁶¹

Yaphur-Lim’s petition to Zimri-Lim, like that of Zakura-Abum, has a serious tenor. At the same time, Yaphur-Lim also appeals to Zimri-Lim, citing the implications for Zimri-Lim’s interests in the region of the Habur if Ibal-Addu was able to install a new king at Talhayum. He wrote: “He [Ibal-Addu] will raise a *kiltum* like a great household.” Ibal-Addu’s calculated support for *kaltu* at this moment, in the aftermath of the war with Eshnunna and the revolt led by Bunu-Eshtar, were aimed at achieving a distinct status in the region, the status as Zimri-Lim’s ‘son.’ Yet Zimri-Lim did not acknowledge a paternal role toward Ibal-Addu or confirm Ibal-Addu status as a ‘son.’ Rather, Zimri-Lim demoted Ibal-Addu to the status of ‘servant,’ as is clear in each of the subsequent exchanges with Ibal-Addu in which he is identified as such.

This pattern was repeated yet a third and final time at the end of Zimri-Lim’s reign. In ZL 10 when Elam campaigned into the Habur, Ibal-Addu yet again backed the Mariote coalition, despite the attempts of a neighboring king, Ishme-Addu of Ashnakkum, to persuade him to side with Elam. Ishme-Addu wrote to Ibal-Addu:

⁶¹ ARM 28.115:5) *dam-qa-a an-ni-ta-an ša i-ba-al* ^dIM 6) [i]-ip-pé-šu i-nu-ma 7) *be-lí i-na na-ḫu-ur*^{K1} *úš-bu* 8) *aš-šum LÚ ki-il-ti-ia ša it-ti i-ba-al* ^dIM 9) *wa-aš-bu a-na be-lí-ia i-na na-ḫu-ur* 10) [a]q-bi *be-lí i-ba-al* ^dIM 11) *i-si-ma ke-em ta-ša-al-šu* 12) *um-ma-a-mi LÚ-lum a-lí i-ba-al* ^dIM 13) *be-lí ke-em i-pu-ul um-ma-a-mi i-na tá-al-ḫa-yi-im* 14) *wa-šī-ib ù be-lí ke-em a-na i-ba-a*[l] ^dIM 15) *iq-bi um-ma-a-mi LÚ šu-ú ma-ti₄ i-la-kam* 16) ^m*i-ba-al* ^dIM *ke-em i-pu-u*[l]-ka 17) [u]m-ma-a-mi *ú-ra-am i-ka-aš* [š]a-dam 18) LÚ *šu-ú i-na áš-la-ka-a-yi*^{K1} 19) *wa-šī-ib be-lí sà-ar-ru-tim-ma* 20) *i-tá-na-aḫ-pu* [a]l ... 26) ^m*i-ba-al* ^dIM 27) *É-l-tam A.ŠÀ še-em* 28) *ù mi-im-ma šum* [š]u 29) *ip-qí-sí a-na LÚ* [l]i[m] 30) [ke]-em *i-da-ab-bu-u* [b] 31) [u]m-ma-a-mi *da-a-at ma-am-ma-an la-a ta-ša-al* ... 45) *a-nu-um-ma be-lí* [l]i-mu-ur *ša i-ba-al* ^dIM 46) *i-ip-pé-šu k*[i-m]a *É-tim ra-bi-im* 47) LÚ *ki-il-t*[am] *ú-ra-ba-ma*).

(As for) the land—all four quarters of it—is at peace. Yet you have raised a torch in the middle of the land! Are you not mindful of (what) you (are doing)? For whom are you waiting (to respond) to your torch? Zimri-Lim? Now, all the land pays tribute to the Sukkal of the Elamites. Peace and good relations are fixed in all the land!⁶²

The Elamite incursion into the Habur had precipitated widespread panic, including panic among the nearby city of Ashnakkum, yet all indications are that Ibal-Addu did not waver in his support for Zimri-Lim. This is all the more remarkable in that Ibal-Addu was well aware of the fate that had befallen many of Zimri-Lim's former allies in the region.⁶³ The Elamite threat was eventually repelled from the Habur triangle by a Mariote coalition with the Babylonians, among others. Yet after the war ended in the middle of ZL 11, when the Elamites had been forced to retreat from Hiritum (in the environs of Sippar), the new king of the Yamut-balean polity of Andarig, Atamrum, who had lead the Elamite advance into the region, switched his allegiance from the Sukkal Elam to Zimri-Lim. Zimri-Lim and Atamrum concluded a political alliance, likely a perpetuation of an earlier pact between the Simal and Yamut-bal tribes,⁶⁴ which was marked by a Mariote princess being given in marriage to Atamrum. This turn of events was remarkably similar to those which had transpired after the war with Eshnunna five years earlier (see further below), when Zimri-Lim had quickly re-

⁶² A.3206: 6) *ma-a-tum* ⁷*i*⁷-[*na ka-a*] *ir-bi-it-ti-ša* 7) *is-sa-lim* ⁸*ù* [*a*]*t-ta i-na qa-ab-li-it* 8) *ma-a-tim di-pa-ra-am na-še-ta* 9) *a-na pa-ag-ri-ka-a* 10) *ù-ul ta-qa-[a]* 11) *ma-bi-ir di-pa-ri-ka* 12) *ma-an-nu-um ù ma-an-na-am* 13) *tu-qa-a* ¹⁴*im-ri-lim* 14) *ù ma-a-tum ka-lu-ša* 15) *bi-la-as-sà a-na LÚ.SUKKAL.MAH ELAM.MEŠ* 16) *it-ta-ši sa-li-mu-um* 17) *ù dam-qa-tum* 18) *i-na li-ib-bi ma-a-tim* 19) *ka-li-ša i-ta-aš-ka-an* (see Charpin, “Un souverain éphémère en Idamarāṣ: Išme-Addu d’Ašnakkum,” 176). It is noteworthy that A.3206 in addition to ARM 4.20, ARM 28.76, 96 were likely taken from the archives at Ashlakka when Zimri-Lim captured the city in ZL 13; they further document the strained relationship between Ibal-Addu and Zimri-Lim.

⁶³ See A.3194 cited by Guichard, “Les aspects religieux de la guerre à Mari,” 29, n. 21.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the *hipsūm*, see below.

paired his relationship with the Yamut-bal king Qarni-Lim after the latter had betrayed him and sided with Mari's enemy, Eshnunna. Just as had been the case in ZL 5, Zimri-Lim's actions were scrutinized, although this time by Ibal-Addu.⁶⁵ The renewed relations between Zimri-Lim and the Yamut-bal of Andarig signaled to Ibal-Addu that he would not be able to alter the Mariote foreign policy in the region in such a way that it would include Ashlakka as a 'son' of Zimri-Lim. Rather, Zimri-Lim's repeated effort to maintain Ibal-Addu's status as 'servant' meant that he would continue to have a marginal role in the land of Ida-Maras.

The Numha king of Kurda was also agitated by Zimri-Lim's unfaltering loyalties toward Andarig and the Yamut-bal tribe to the extent that the king of Kurda, Hammu-rabi, joined with Ishme-Dagan in several military operations in the Habur and Sinjar that were directed against Zimri-Lim and Andarig in the first half of ZL 12. At this moment Ibal-Addu seized the opportunity to expand his control amidst the chaos wrought by Ishme-Dagan and Hammu-rabi during ZL 12. When Ishme-Addu of Ashnakkum, the former Elamite vassal who had pressured Ibal-Addu to defect from the anti-Elamite coalition, was suspiciously assassinated, Ibal-Addu immediately sought to capitalize on his neighbor's death and expand his sphere of influence in the environs of Ashlakka.

Yet Ibal-Addu faced opposition from Shub-ram of Susa, who intended to install a viceroy at Ashnakkum. Zimri-Lim insisted on his prerogative in the settling of this matter and instructed Ibal-Addu, as well as the neighboring king, Shub-ram of Susa, not to cause trouble in the land before he could journey to Ashnakkum and definitively settle the matter.⁶⁶ As Guichard has observed, this

⁶⁵ This event dates approximately to the time of the Elamite retreat based on ARM 26.328 (see Joannès, "Le traité de vassalité d'Atamrum," 173). For a fuller treatment of Zimri-Lim's interactions with the Yamut-bal, see below.

⁶⁶ ARM 28.65: "Prior to our departure our lord instructed (both) me and Shub-ram, saying: 'Do not create (any) anxiety in the land until I arrive. If you do create anxiety, (then) the city that I have in my sights (lit. my face is set against it) will be made afraid, foreign troops will reinforce (it), and ultimately you will have created (contentious) negotiations for

conflict brought to the surface the desires of both Shub-ram, king of Ashnakkum, as well as Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka to expand their authority in Ida-maras.⁶⁷ While the claimant to the throne of Ashnakkum whom Ibal-Addu supported eventually won Zimri-Lim's favor and was installed as the next king,⁶⁸ Ibal-Addu, the son-in-law of Zimri-Lim, remained Zimri-Lim's 'servant' whereas Shub-ram continued to be the 'son' of Zimri-Lim.⁶⁹

Zimri-Lim's *realpolitik* in his dealings with Ibal-Addu had repeatedly marginalized Ibal-Addu and it proved problematic. As a result, Ibal-Addu turned to a new patron, an opponent of Zimri-Lim, Ishme-Dagan. At this moment, Ibal-Addu's wife, Inib-sharri, who was also the daughter of Zimri-Lim, wrote to her father about her husband's waning loyalties on several occasions. She even insisted that she be brought back to Mari because of her mistreatment: "My distress is greater than ever before! Does he [Ibal-Addu] not, even now, treat me (with) contempt? Has he accursed the head of the enemy of my lord?"⁷⁰ In this missive, Inib-sharri's com-

me." (3) *i-na pu-ni ut-lu-ki-ni i-ia-ti ù šu-ub-[r]a-am* 4) *be-el-ni ke-em ú-wu-e-ru-ne-ti um-ma-mi* 5) *a-di ka-ša-dī-ia i-na li-ib-bi ma-tim* 6) *mi-im-m[a] du-lu-ub-tam la ta-ša-ka-na* 7) *as-si-ur-ri du-lu-ub-tam ta-ša-ka-na-ma* 8) *a-lum ša pa-nu-ia ša-ak-nu-šum uš-ta-da-ar-ma* 9) *ša-ba-am a-be-em ú-še-ri-ib-ma wa-ar-ka-nu-um* 10) *du-bu-ub-tam [l]u-ša-ar-ša-ni₅-in-ni*)

⁶⁷ Guichard nicely summarizes the affair: "Le conflit révèle, autant de la part du roi de Susâ que de celui d'Ašlakkâ, une aspiration à l'hégémonie: en fait, contrôler Ašnakkum ou prendre sa place revenait à exercer le leadership de l'Ida-Maraš." ("Le Šubartu," 144).

⁶⁸ See ARM 28.65: 15) *i-ba-al^dIM a-bu-ul-la-tim šu-d[u]* 16) *ù^{LÚ} me-er-b[u]-um [š]ú-ul-lum a-na-ku-ma* 17) *a-na LUGAL-tim ša i-da-ma-ra-aš ša-ak-na-ku*. ("Ibal-Addu is shut [behind his] gates and the *merḥûm* is pleased, [meanwhile] I, myself, am installed to the kingship of Ida-Maras.") The response of the *merḥûm*, Ibal-El, to Shub-ram's actions are found in A.609 (published in Durand, "Apologue sur des mauvaises herbes et un co-quin").

⁶⁹ Shub-ram's status as Zimri-Lim's 'son' does, however, change in the course of ZL 13 (see ARM 28.95) for uncertain reasons.

⁷⁰ ARM 2.113: 25) *mu-ru-uš_x* 26) *li-ib-[bi-ia e]l-ša pa-na-nu* 27) *im-ti-ī[d i-na-an-ni] a še₁₀-tū-ti* 28) *i-ia-tam ú-[u]l il-qé* 29) *qa-qa-ad a-ia-ab be-li-ia* 30) *mi-ba-*

plaints stopped short of accusing her husband of having formally sided against Zimri-Lim, yet she did observe her husband's waning opposition toward Zimri-Lim's enemies. At the same time, Inib-sharri later wrote another letter to her father in which she reported that her husband had, in fact, acted against Zimri-Lim, in particular against Yaphur-Lim of Izallu.

Concerning the house of Yaphur-Lim, Itur-Asdu spoke (to Ibal-Addu) saying: "Do not take the house of Yaphur-Lim without the king (Zimri-Lim)! That man is off-limits, lest the king become angry with you." And this is that which I, too, spoke to him. (Yet) he did not listen and he took that man's house.⁷¹

Ibal-Addu had allegedly harbored Yaphur-Lim's *kaltum* nearly six years earlier in ZL 6 and now seized the opportunity to control Izallu. Likewise, the aspirations of Hadnu-Amurru the *kaltum* of Zakura-Abum of Zalluhan whom Ibal-Addu had harbored at Ashlakka, did not fade away. Rather, Hadnu-Amurru was found at Ashlakka when Zakura-Abum died;⁷² and, thereafter, he was very quickly received as a legitimate authority at Zalluhan.⁷³ Again, Zim-

al-d[IM] 31) *ú-qa-lí-il* (collations Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 18, 468). Durand has suggested that ARM 2.113 and ARM 10.76 may be dated to ZL 8, corresponding with the feast at Der. This, however, is not a certain conclusion. They may be better situated in the strained relations that began toward the end of the war with Elam.

⁷¹ ARM 10.73: 9) *ú-túr-ás-d[u]* 10) *aš-šum É ia-ap-ḥu-ur li-im* 11) *ki-im iq-bi-šum um-ma-mi* 12) *ba-lu-um LUGAL É ia-a[p]-ḥ[u-ur li-im]* 13) *la te-[ḷe-qe]* 14) *LÚ da-an as-s[ú-ur-ri]* 15) *LUGAL li-ib-ba-t[i-ka im-ma-lí]* 16) *ú' a-na-ku an-né-[tim-ma]* 17) *ad-bu-ub-šum ú-ul [i-qú-ul]* 18) *É LÚ še-t[u] i[l-qé-ma]*. For this sense of *dannum* in line 14, see ARM 26.13 (apud Durand, *Le culte des pierres*, 8).

⁷² A.2500 (in Durand, "Cité-État d'Imâr," 75–77 n. 199) recounts Hadnu-Amurru's presence at Ashlakka when Zakura-Abum died.

⁷³ From Inib-sharri's letters, it is clear that Hadnu-Amurru succeeded his opponent, Zakura-Abum, very quickly after the latter died, since she was forced to leave the city only days after his death.

ri-Lim's daughter Inib-sharri wrote to her father about Ibal-Addu's vassal, Hadnu-Amurru,⁷⁴ saying:

I wrote to my lord, when Zakura-Abum was ill. And when he died I could not weep for him for 15 days. (Then,) I was made to leave the town (Zalluhan)... (Moreover,) as for Libur-beli, the viticulturist (and) servant of the household of Yahdun-Lim, when I heard that man was a servant of the household of Yahdun-Lim, I purchased him. Now that man (is still) in Zalluhan! He (Hadnu-Amurru) has blockaded me. I am dispossessed and that man is imprisoned.⁷⁵

In the aftermath of the war with Elam, Ibal-Addu rejected his role as Zimri-Lim's 'servant' and seized the opportunity to carve out his place in the political pecking order of Ida-maras. Zimri-Lim's foreign policy toward Ibal-Addu had failed. When the king of Andarig, Atamrum, suspiciously died later in that same year, Ibal-Addu's defiance only intensified. Zimri-Lim was forced to campaign against Ibal-Addu, to deport his family members,⁷⁶ and to ransack the city of Ashlakka.

⁷⁴ That the person Inib-sharri is complaining about is Hadnu-Amurru is clear from ARM 10.75. In this missive Inib-sharri complains to her father that Sammetar and Hadnu-Amurru have still not released Libur-beli from Zalluhan.

⁷⁵ ARM 10.79: 5) *i-nu-ma* ^m *ṣa-ku-ra-a-bu-um mar-ṣu* 6) [*a*]-*na be-lī-ia aṣ-pu-ra-am* 7) *ù i-nu-[m]a i-mu-tu u₄* 1[5 KAM] 8) *ú-ul ab-[e]i-ṣum i-na a-lim^{K1}* 9) *ú-še-ṣú-nu-in-[n]*.... 1) ^m *li-bur-be-li* LÚ.GEŠTIN 16) *ÌR É ia-ab-du-li-i[m]* 17) *ki-ma* LÚ *ṣu-ú* *ÌR É i[a-a]b-[d]u-li-i[m]* 18) *iṣ-me-ma a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-ša-am-ṣu* 19) *i-n[a-a]n-na i-na ṣa-a[ḏ]-lu-ḥa-an^{K1}* 20) [LÚ *ṣu-ú* *ḏi-ki-ra-an-ni* 21) [*ab-ḥa-bi-i*]-*t-ma* LÚ *ṣu-ú* 22) [*ṣu-ub-ḥ*]-*u-ur* LUGAL *li-il₅-qí-ṣu* 23) [*in-na na-ḥu-ur^{K1}* *ṣi-ra-ṣi-y[u]*] (collations by Durand, LAPO 18 1246).

⁷⁶ The precise date of Atamrum's death is not known, but it was announced at Babylon in the first month of ZL 13 (FM 6.19). That it was suspicious to Zimri-Lim is clear from his request that Shibtum make oracular inquiries into its possible causes (ARM 26.185^{bis}). As for the deportees from the capture of Ashlakka, see Lion, "Les familles royales et les artisans déportés à Mari en ZL 12'."

Ibal-Addu's career, much like that of Kabiya, reveals Zimri-Lim's *realpolitik* with his contemporary sovereigns in the Habur who did not foreground their tribal affiliations. As was the case with Kabiya, the shifting statuses of Zimri-Lim and Ibal-Addu, which were encoded in the household metaphor of international relations, were indicative of the Mariote king's tendency to privilege practices that were politically expedient when dealing with kings that did not foreground a tribal identity. However, the outcome of Zimri-Lim's dealings with Ibal-Addu, just as was the case with Kabiya, illustrates how this policy could create difficulties for the Mariote king in his efforts to create a stabile political situation in the upper Jezira.

Table 4.1. Selected events concerning Kahat and Ashlakka (ZL 0–13)

Date	Events	Selected Letters
ZL 0 month 9	–Zimri-Lim captures Terqa and Mari (Ibal-Addu assists Zimri-Lim)	<i>ARM</i> 28.77
ZL 1 months 2–3	–Zimri-Lim captures Kahat	
ZL 2	–Kabiya enthroned at Kahat	<i>ARM</i> 28.60
ZL 3 month 7 month 10	–Zimri-Lim captures Ashlakka –Ibal-Addu installed as king at Ashlakka and married Inib-sharri –Beginning of the Second Yaminitic Revolt and war with Eshnunna –Akin-Amar (Yakun-Amar) attested in lists of eight <i>madari</i> (<i>ARM</i> 18.58–60)	<i>ARM</i> 28.123–125 <i>ARM</i> 28.43 <i>ARM</i> 28.128
ZL 4 months 5–7 month 12	–Kabiya, Huzirum, and Ibal-Addu are among the kings, who support Zimri-Lim (A.3591) –Zimri-Lim at Ashlakka; Zimri-Lim and kings of Ida-Maras at Kahat (A.1179) –Ibal-Addu marries Zimri-Lim's daughter, Inib-sharri (<i>ARM</i> 25.485)	
ZL 5 months 10–12	–Aggressions of Bunu-Eshtar against Qarni-Lim after Mari's peace with Eshnunna (<i>ARM</i> 2.130)	
ZL 6 months 3–5 months 1–6? months 5–?	–Revolt by Hammu-rabi of Kurda (<i>ARM</i> 14.109) –Akin-Amar enters into Hazakkanum (<i>FM</i> 2.126) –Qarni-Lim, and other allies of Zimri-Lim come to Huzirum's aid (<i>ARM</i> 26.357; <i>FM</i> 2.127. A.38527) –Huzirum is restored at Hazakkanum	<i>ARM</i> 28.132 <i>ARM</i> 28.131 <i>ARM</i> 28.78

⁷⁷ Guichard and Sevaliè, *NABU* 2003/6.

	by Haya-Sumu and Zimri-Lim (<i>ARM</i> 26.347, 349–351) –Kabiya reported to be harboring Akin-Amar (<i>FM</i> 2.128)	
ZL 7	–Huzirum falls out of the documenta- tion from Mari	
ZL 8 months 9	–Kabiya and Yamrus-El at Mari for the feast of Ishtar (M.11359+); and Kabiya gives to Zimri-Lim 50 jars of wine (M.10647) ⁷⁸	<i>ARM</i> 28.123
ZL 9 months 10	–Two cattle brought to Mari by Kabiya (<i>ARM</i> 7.91)	
ZL 10 month 2 months 2–6	–Atamrum, the Elamite military com- mander, advances into the Habur (M.9729) ⁷⁹ –Kabiya assassinated by Haya-Sumu and Attaya installed as the new king (<i>ARM</i> 26.317, 27.86, A.9623 [= <i>LAP</i> O 17.549+])	<i>ARM</i> 28.124, 129
ZL 11 month 4 month 7 month 12	–The Elamites retreat from Hiritum; Zimri-Lim sends a gift to Ham- mu-rabi of Babylon (<i>ARM</i> 25.250); Atamrum swears an oath to Zimri-Lim (<i>ARM</i> 26.328) –Hammu-rabi of Kurda visits Mari (<i>ARM</i> 2.69; <i>ARM</i> 27.74–76) –Hammu-rabi of Babylon begins his siege of Larsa	
ZL 12 months 1–2 month 5 month 6	–Ishme-Addu is killed (<i>ARM</i> 25.447) –Asdi-Lim enthroned at Kahat –Zimri-Lim sends gifts to Hammu-rabi at his capture of Larsa (<i>ARM</i> 25.9)	<i>ARM</i> 28.133
ZL 13 month 1	–Ashlakka captured by Zimri-Lim	<i>ARM</i> 28.95

⁷⁸ Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 211 n. 384.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 216 n. 428.

INTER-TRIBAL POLITICS AND *ḤIPŠUM*

Having discussed Zimri-Lim's dealings with kings who did not foreground their affiliations in international politics, I will now turn to more direct inter-tribal relations. The tribal diversity during Zimri-Lim's reign led to recurrent interactions among these groups and to an active representation of tribal interests in international politics. Inter-tribal politics could be conducted as a part of the more formalized 'system' of interactions among kings, when the kings involved also represented a tribal constituency. At the same time, tribes were able to participate in international politics as autonomous agents with other tribes outside of the more formalized 'system of international relations.' For example, one forum for inter-tribal politics was the *riḥsum*,⁸⁰ which was a convening of tribal populations of mobile pastoralists (*ḥanūm*) by prominent tribal leaders, such as the *merḥūm*.⁸¹ At a *riḥsum*, then, *merḥū* could address matters such as pasture rites, military planning, as well as enact alliances (*salimum*) between tribes.⁸² And the *riḥsum*'s decisions were confirmed by an accompanying ceremony or ritual that bound the participants in solidarity.⁸³ The *riḥsum*'s function as an inter-tribal

⁸⁰ Durand, *ARM(T)* 26/1, 181–85.

⁸¹ The *sugāgu* are noted in connection with a *riḥsum* in *ARM* 26.44 and Ibal-pi-El, a *merḥūm* is mentioned in *ARM* 26.45.

⁸² E.g. A.4530^{bis} In the *riḥsum* for which they gathered I spoke to them, saying 'Do you make your sheep traverse in the pastureland? Where do you go?' (8') *i-na ri-iḥ-ṣi-im ṣa ar-ḥa-aṣ* 9') *kei-a-am aq-bi-ṣu-nu-ṣi um-ma a-na [keu-ma]* [UDU.HÀ-*keu*]-*nu tu-ṣe₂₀-bé-ra*]-*nim* [*i-n*] *a na-we-em a-yi-iṣ ta[al-la-ka-nim]*); A.215: At the end of this month the kings of Zalmaqum and the Yamina will gather. And the intent of their *riḥsum* (is) to capture Tuttul. (11) *ù pa-an ri-iḥ-ṣi-ṣu-nu* 12) *a-na tu-ut-tu-ul-ma*^{K1} *ṣa-ba-tim*); A.954: The intent of the *riḥsum* (is) toward peace, and the messenger of Yarim-Addu and the men of Eshnunna have come to me and speak thus concerning the *riḥsum* [(11) *pa-an ri-iḥ-ṣi-ṣu-nu a-na s[a-lí-mi-im-ma]* all are cited in Durand, *ARM(T)* 26/1, 183–4)

⁸³ See *ARM(T)* 26/1, 185 n. 18, where Durand notes the dispersal of an ewe for the purpose of a *riḥsum*. Also, *ARM* 26.44, while fragmentary, reports that a *riḥsum* is a suitable context for expunging the impurity of a taboo (*asakkeum*).

forum for decision-making, then, is akin to other examples of collective decision-making, though not necessarily ones involving tribal populations, such as the *puhrum* and *tahtamum*.⁸⁴

Another term that provides further insight into the distinctive nature of inter-tribal politics is *hipšum*. *Hipšum* seems to have been a term that was distinct to tribes' conduct of international politics. Neither the noun *hipšum* nor the related verb *huppušum* are found in dictionaries due to their recent attestations. Moreover, to my knowledge these words are only known from the Mari corpus to date. The word *hipšum* denoted either the gathering of tribal groups for the purposes of concluding a political pact or else it designated the outcome of this gathering in the form of an alliance or pact of some sort. This interpretation is consistent with the etymology of the root. The only extended discussion of the etymology of this root at Mari is that of Gonzalo Rubio. Rubio has connected the Mari data with the Proto-Semitic root * $\sqrt{\text{hpt}}$, which he in turn correlated with the data from Ugaritic ($\sqrt{\text{hpt}}$), Hebrew ($\sqrt{\text{hps}}$), and Akkadian (*hupšum*).⁸⁵ This root connotes the idea 'to be free' in Hebrew, whereas in Ugaritic and Akkadian this same root has acquired the specialized meaning of an escapee, fugitive, mercenary, or even someone in service to the palace. Another explanation for $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$ at Mari is the Proto-Semitic root $\sqrt{\text{hbs}}$.⁸⁶ The reflexes of this root in the Semitic languages include Arabic *ḥabasa*, Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{hbs}}$, and Ugaritic $\sqrt{\text{hbs}}$, which connote the idea of 'binding.' Accordingly, the root $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$ at Mari may be related to this Proto-Semitic root, denoting a 'binding' or 'pact' between tribes.

Yet while this option certainly seems to have potential for explaining the meaning of the *hipšum* and *huppušum* from Mari,⁸⁷ there is a third alternative that is possible. The Proto-Semitic root * $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$ may also lie behind the word *hipšum* attested at Mari. Several data suggest the existence of a Proto-Semitic root * $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$, from which

⁸⁴ For a discussion of these terms, see Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 203–10.

⁸⁵ Rubio, "On a Recent Volume of Mari Letters," 241–242.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Rubio judges this conclusion to be less likely than $\sqrt{\text{hbs}}$.

Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$ ‘to gather, seek out,’ Ugaritic, $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$ ‘to gather,’⁸⁸ Aramaic $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$, and Arabic *ḥafaša* ‘to gather’⁸⁹ are derived. In this case, the word *ḥipšum*, a *pirs*-noun, etymologically identified a ‘gathering’ of pastoralists, although this word is used with the extended meaning in the Mari correspondence of a gathering of pastoralists for the purpose of concluding a political accord.⁹⁰ Further evidence lending credence to this solution is that fact that the Mari corpus has an identifiable vocabulary of terms that convey the ‘gathering’ for political purposes, such as the already noted *riḥsum*, *puḥrum* and *taḥtamum*. Thus the meaning of *ḥipšum* would convey the collective decision-making of tribes though in context and often by extension it could also designate the outcome of such decision-making, namely an alliance or pact.

The letters from Mari suggest that *ḥipšum* was a way to deal with tensions that developed between tribes. In fact, *ḥipšum* was exclusively reserved for tribes.⁹¹ *Ḥipšum* is known to have been enacted between the Simal and Yamina (A.981), Simal and Yamut-bal (ARM 28.36), and perhaps even between the Simal and Numha although this is not explicit in the records.⁹² *Ḥipšum* was a solution that anticipated many problems that arose from the diverse socio-political landscape of Syro-Mesopotamia, as discussed in chapter three. For example, FM 7.46 details how a *ḥipšum* was suited to overcome the problem of the stretched sense of territoriality that

⁸⁸ On the interchange between /b/ and /p/ in this root at Ugarit, see Pardee, “Review of Tropper,” 70; See Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language*.

⁸⁹ Durand has suggested Mari’s *ḥipšum* be understood in light of Arabic *ḥafaša*, or less likely Arabic *ḥafaša* (*Annuaire* [2000–1], 702). The former would be consistent with the above proposal that it is related to the root $\sqrt{\text{hps}}$.

⁹⁰ Cf. Durand, *Le culte d’Addu d’Alepp*, 254 compared it to the Arab practice of *ḥilfūn* (a confederacy between tribal groups; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* vol. 2, 627–8).

⁹¹ See Durand, *Annuaire* (2001–2), 751.

⁹² This is suggested by Durand, “Peuplement,” 137. Additionally, another instance is attested between the Simal (*ḥanūm*) and an unspecified tribal population in Ida-Maras (FM 6.6).

characterized tribal groups with contingents of mobile pastoralists.⁹³ In this missive Shu-nuhra-halu, the Mariote representative in the Yamhad court, encouraged a *hipsūm* between the Yamina and Simal in his discussion with Hammu-rabi, the king of Yamhad, about the purchase of the city of Alalakh. Shu-nuhra-halu, speaking on behalf of Zimri-Lim, suggested: "I indeed will make a *hipsūm* between the Simal and the Yamina." Shu-nuhra-halu's proposal had been a response to Hammu-rabi's misgivings about the potential sale of Alalakh to Zimri-Lim.⁹⁴ In this case, Hammu-rabi had initially objected to Zimri-Lim's offer to purchase Alalakh with the retort, "Why has my brother [Zimri-Lim] made such a rotten request?" Hammu-rabi's response shows that he believed this transaction would have negative repercussions for him. He said, "If the inhabitants of that city [Alalakh] are uprooted from my city and from my servants, where will they dwell? And will they continue to follow me?" The king of Yamhad's response reveals that he was concerned about how the populations that inhabited Alalakh would respond to the sale of the city. The basis of Hammu-rabi's concern was most likely rooted in the tribal identity of the inhabitants of the city. Alalakh was located in a traditional pastureland (*nighum*) of the Yamina and its populations may have been Yamina.⁹⁵ But whatever their dominant socio-political identity, they were certainly not Simal, which complicated the sale of the city to Zimri-Lim, a king from the Simal tribe. Tensions at Alalakh could pose a problem if the city became a hotbed of conflict, not only for Zimri-Lim but also for Hammu-rabi who resided less than 70 kilometers east of Alalakh, at Aleppo. Thus Hammu-rabi was concerned about the eruption of unrest at Alalakh, while Zimri-Lim was acutely aware of the fact that Alalakh was a long distance from his state's territorial center at Mari and, consequently, more difficult to administer. For this reason, a solution strictly negotiated between these kings,

⁹³ See above, chapter three.

⁹⁴ For the identification of Alakhtum with Alalakh, see Durand, *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep*, 59–91, esp. 65–66. For the association of the Yamina with this region, see Durand, "Peuplement," 120–1 and the discussion in chapter five, below.

⁹⁵ See Durand, "Peuplement," 120–1.

without reference to the tribal interests and subsistence patterns involved, was not the best remedy for the problem. The chosen way to alleviate the sovereigns' concerns was a *ḥipšum* between the Simal and the populations at Alalakh. These two kings, it seems, encouraged a *ḥipšum* in order to directly address the concerns of the tribal populations involved.

Hipšum, then, addressed inter-tribal conflicts by attempting to create inter-tribal solidarity. To put it into Emile Durkheim's terms, it provided a means through which tribes could overcome their exclusive mechanical solidarity (the likely result of kinship ideology) and create a more inclusive organic solidarity among diverse populations.⁹⁶ The nature of a *ḥipšum* may be envisioned in the inter-tribal relations delineated in the letter A.981.⁹⁷ The missive was sent by Sammetar, a governor (*šāpīṭum*) at Terqa, to Zimri-Lim. It recounted the governor's discussion with several Yaminite leaders regarding peace negotiations at the conclusion of the Second Yaminite Revolt, in Zimri-Lim's fifth year as king.⁹⁸ It contrasts the

⁹⁶ Organic solidarity was the antithesis to mechanical solidarity in that it was not the result of commonality of belief or culture, but was forged through social contracts and legal processes. It was not, strictly speaking, a 'solidarity of similarity' (*The Division of Labor in Society*, 31). That said, I would add the caveat that neither form of solidarity was as simplistic or 'primitive' as Durkheim at times suggested they could be.

⁹⁷ It should be noted that while there has been no serious objection to the idea that A.981 recounts a *ḥipšum*, the term itself is not used in it. The conclusion that A.981 reports an appeal for a *ḥipšum* has endured because A.981 contains features consistent with what is known of the *ḥipšum*. Durand was the first to interpret the missive as containing an appeal for a *ḥipšum* between the Yamina and Simal (see Durand, *Annuaire* [2001–2], 751).

⁹⁸ Durand, "Unité et diversités," 117, n. 158. The first topic raised by Sammetar is important for establishing the relative chronology of this letter at the conclusion of the second Yaminite revolt (ZL 5) and, consequently, the context for understanding the kinship mentality expressed by Uranum and the elders of Dabish. The second Yaminite revolt began in the seventh month of ZL 3 and continued into the early months of ZL 5. The chronological linchpin for securing this letter at the conclusion of this

outcome of an inter-tribal pact with the more exclusive intra-tribal form of solidarity among the Yamina tribe. According to Sammetar's report, Uranum and the elders of Dabish wanted to 'kill a donkey' with Zimri-Lim thereby securing peaceful relations between the Yamina and Simal tribes. Sammetar's letter, A.981, reported the matter to Zimri-Lim as follows:

Uranum and the elders from Dabish came to me and said, "By birth we belong among the Yahurreans, not to the Yar(r)adum, (thus) we do not have a *hibrum*-(community) or *kadûm* in the pasture-land. We are native to the Yahrur, but we want to enter into (an/oath or treaty of) the Simal (tribe) with the Niha-deans. Let us kill the donkey!" (Then) I asked: "Should I write to the king (about this)?" (And) they said "Write (to him)!" I kept them waiting a day and asked them (again) and they responded: "Write to the king!" And I asked them a third time and they responded as they had previously. Now let my lord's god speak (a word) in order that Dabish, Ilum-muluk, and Samanum may kill a donkey just as Urah, Shakka and Puzuran

revolt is its mention of the succession of the new governor of Saggartum, Itur-Asdu (E.g. *ARM* 14.81). Sumhu-rapi, the former governor of this district had served during the Yasmah-Addu's reign and had retained his position at the beginning of Zimri-Lim's administration. The latest his governorship can be dated is the twelfth month of ZL 3. (For the chronology of Sumhu-rapi, see Lion, "Les gouverneurs provinciaux," 177–9, esp., 178). Sumhu-rapi's death, however, is not reported until ZL 6, (Durand, *ARM(T)* 26/1, 574–5) by which time his successor, Itur-Asdu, had already left the governorship of Saggartum for Nahur. A.981, then, should date to prior to Sumhu-rapi's death in ZL 6 and, therefore, approximately at the conclusion of the second Yaminite revolt in ZL 5. (The relative chronology for the conclusion of the peace with the Yamina is secured by its synchronism with Zimri-Lim's negotiations with Hammurabi in the fifth month of ZL 5 [see Durand, *ARM(T)* 26/1, 149]. See also Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 194–5).

killed a donkey. Now if I am going to be killing a donkey, let my lord quickly send back a response to my tablet.⁹⁹

What all interpreters agree upon, and that which is a point of commonality found in the explanation below, is that A.981 recounts a political accord between the Simal and Yamina tribes. Yet, precisely how this pact functioned or what it accomplished is not agreed upon and requires further comment.

A central question regarding inter-tribal relations in A.981, and the related issue of the inter-tribal politics involving *bipšum*, is whether tribal identity could be altered. Durand, who first published A.981, was the one who suggested that this missive recounted a ritual that, in fact, allowed persons to change their tribal identities.¹⁰⁰ Sasson, too, has followed this conclusion.¹⁰¹ Recently, however, Fleming has expressed doubts about this interpretation and proposed that it accomplished "... the affiliation of the town of Dabish with the Simal's *gayūm* division of the Nihadum without necessarily giving up its Yaminite identification with the Yahruru tribe."¹⁰² My assessment of A.981, too, finds no indication that this tribal agreement altered kin-based tribal identities through adoption. Rather, what A.981 does demonstrate is that some sort of kinship ideology was of foundational importance for tribal identity as well as a limiting means of constructing socio-political identity

⁹⁹ A.981: 32) ^mú-ra-nu-um ù ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI.MEŠ² 33) ša da-bi-iš^{KI} il-li-ku-nim-ma 34) um-[m]a-mi iš-tu {šⁱ-t<im>} šⁱ-tim 35) i-na ia-bu-ur-ra ú-ul ia-ra-du-um 36) ni-ni ù i-na na-we-e-im bi-ib-ra-am 37) ù ka-dē ú-ul ni-šu 38) zu-ru-ba-tum a-na ia-ab-ru-ur ni-nu 39) a-na li-ib-bi DUMU si-íl[m-a]l 40) i-na ni-ba-di i n[í-r]u-ub-ma ^{ANŠE}ba-a-ri 41) i ni-ig-tú-ul [um-ma] a-na-ku-ma 42) lu-ús-pu-ú-ur a-na [š]e-er LUGAL um-ma šu-nu-ma 43) [š]u-pu-ur [u]₄ 1 KAM ú-za-ab-bi-il-šu-nu-ti-ma 44) a-ša-al-šu-nu-ti um-ma šu-nu-ma šu-pu-ur a-na še-er LUGAL 45) a-[u-ú]r ša-al-šⁱ-iš a-ša-a-[t-šu-nu-ti] 46) q[a-ta]m-ma i-pu-lu-ni-in-ni 47) i-na-an-na AN-lum ša be-lí-[a] 48) li-ig-bi-ma ki-ma ú-ra-ab 49) ša-ak-ka^{KI} ù pu-zu-ra-an^{KI} 50) ^{ANŠE}ba-a-ri iq-tú-lu da-bi-iš^{KI} AN-mu-lu-uk^{KI} sa-ma-nu-[um^{KI}] 51) ^{ANŠE}ba-a-ri li-ig-tú-lu i-n[a-an-na] {AN NA} šum-ma ^{ANŠE}ba-a-r[í] 52) [š]a da-bi-iš^{KI} a-qa-a-[t-tá-a] 53) [a]r-bi-[iš me-bi]-[r] flup-pí-í[a b]e-lí [li-ša-b]i-[a-an-ni].

¹⁰⁰ Durand, "Unité et diversités."

¹⁰¹ Sasson, "Mari and the Bible."

¹⁰² Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 97.

that was compensated for by legal mechanisms like that recounted in this missive (or perhaps like the *ḫipšum*). That is, A.981 reveals that kinship was central for intra-tribal identities and it contrasts this form of socio-political organization with the result of the legal accord that Uranum and the elders of Dabish solicited from Zimri-Lim.

An interpretive crux for A.981 is the collocation *erebum* followed by two prepositional phrases: one beginning with *ana* and the other with *ina*. Two alternatives exist for interpreting the initial prepositional phrase in A.981, *erebum* + *ana libbi*. First, Durand posits the solution that the phrase *a-na li-ib-bi DUMU si-i[m-a]al ... i n[i-ṛ]u-ub-ma* was a request for adoption into the Simal tribe. He explains,

[Urânum] veut devenir << a un fils de la gauche >> (bensim'alite) et il indique le lieu où ils se rangeront désormais : ils seront cooptés en tant que Nihadéens. La mention de l'immolation de l'ânon dans un tel contexte donne à ce rituel une profondeur inattendue... [O]n voit que c'est le sang de l'animal qui va transformer des << fils de la droite >> en << fils de la gauche >> et les faire désormais tenir pour des Nihadéens.¹⁰³

The primary linguistic rationale, which goes unstated, is nevertheless largely intuitive: the collocation *erebum* + *ana libbi* is common in adoption texts.¹⁰⁴

Sasson, too, who further pondered the importance of this missive for understanding inter-tribal politics, follows Durand's

¹⁰³ Note that the treaties from the Mari archives have numerous functional affinities with their later Neo-Assyrian counterparts (see the detailed study by Durand, "Précurseurs syriens aux protocoles néo-assyriens;" additionally, Durand, "Unité et diversités," 120 and Durand, "Peuplement," 154).

¹⁰⁴ Durand offers limited explanation for his suggestion that cultural practice in view in A.981 is adoption. The evidence cited in favor of his position, therefore, represents my own attempt to interpret this letter and to understand Durand's conclusion. See, for example, CAD E 262–3 *erebum* mng. 1a 3'.

interpretation. He translates lines 34–37, “In origins, we were not *yaradum* among the Yahurra-tribe; but in the encampment we have neither a *hibrum* nor a *ka-di*.” He, then, reasoned that,

[T]he elders of Dabish were feeling a loss of status among the Yahurra, a Benjamin sub-tribe. Having lost their status as *Yaradum*, they now lacked an authoritative body (the *hibrum*) to give them support. They consequently wanted to move out of their tribe and join the Bensim'al confederation.¹⁰⁵

Yet a reconstruction of this letter that involves tribal adoption seems unlikely to me, at least. First, as it concerns the term *ya(r)radum*, it appears to be an ethnic appellative, rather than a social status, in *FM* 3.4.¹⁰⁶ Thus it is doubtful that Uranum and the elders of Dabish were concerned about being demoted to the ‘status’ of *ya(r)radum*. Second, the linguistic affinity between adoptions and A.981 noted above—and hence an interpretation of the latter as a plea to abandon or alter tribal identity—is less compelling than the interpretation of the request by Uranum and the elders of Dabish as an appeal for a political accord, or treaty, that intended to halt hostilities. The solution that A.981 recounts a request for a political accord is the most straightforward meaning given the historical context of the letter at the end of the second Yamina revolt. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that Uranum and the city of Dabish did not abandon their Yamina identities, but rather continued to be associated with the Yamina tribe in the subsequent months and years after A.981.¹⁰⁷

Since the interpretation of *a-na li-ib-bi DUMU si-i[m-a]al ... i n[i-r]u-ub-ma* as akin to expressions related to adoption is not without difficulties, an alternative solution should be sought. One pos-

¹⁰⁵ Sasson, “Mari and the Bible,” 105.

¹⁰⁶ The *kispum* should be offered for Sargon and Naram-Sin, the Yar(r)adum Bedouin and for the Numha (*FM* 3.4 I:16–21 16) *ki-is-pu-um* 17) *a-na LUGAL-ki-in* 18) *ù na-ar-am-EŠ LÚ ha-na.MEŠ ia-ra-di* 20) *a-na šu-ut nu-um-be-e*).

¹⁰⁷ E.g. *ARM* 7.2, 236, and M.8884 (apud Durand, “Unité et diversités,” 119). See also Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 97–103, esp. 97–8.

sibility is that *erebum* + *ana libbi* is used in A.981 similar to how this collocation could function in first-millennium discussions of political accords, in particular the Neo-Assyrian *adû*-oath. In Neo-Assyrian sources *adû*-oaths are frequently described as something to be ‘entered into:’ “[I]n keeping with the order of the king, my lord, when the elders came, they entered into [*erebum* + *ana libbi*] the *adû*-oath of the king, my lord, at Babylon.”¹⁰⁸ This solution for A.981 is consistent with the expressed intent of Uranum and the elders of Dabish, who requested that Zimri-Lim kill a donkey (*qaṭalum bayyārum*) with them,¹⁰⁹ which was standard parlance for concluding a political accord. While there was no noun for such agreements at Mari that can be considered equivalent to the Neo-Assyrian *adû*-oath,¹¹⁰ that an oath was also in view in A.982 may be discerned from the letter’s concluding comments in which Sammetar insisted: “Now let my lord’s god declare if Dabish, Ilum-muluk, and Samanum may kill the donkey (just) as Urah, Shakka, and Puzuran have killed the donkey.” That is, Sammetar asked Zimri-Lim to consult his god about killing a donkey, a request that likely alludes to the oath (*niš ilim*) that Uranum and the elders of Dabish would swear by that god when they entered into a political accord with the Simal. If the solution outlined above is correct, the seemingly awkward expression of ‘entering into the Simal’ (*a-na li-ib-bi DUMU si-i[m-a]al ... i n[i-ṣ]u-ub-ma*), while certainly different than the Neo-Assyrian collocation for entering into *adû*-oath, connoted a similar outcome. That is, the unusual expression ‘to enter to the Simal’ may be interpreted as a laconic request by Uranum and the

¹⁰⁸ ABL 202: r14) AŠ *ši-pir-ti šá* LUGAL *be-lí-ia* 15) LÚ *š-bu-tu ki-i* 16) *il-lík-ku a-na ŠÀ-bi* 17) *a-de-e šá* LUGAL *be-lí-ia* 18) AŠ TIN.TIR^{KI} 19) *i-te-er-bu*.

¹⁰⁹ An oath of the god (*niš ilim*) was sworn (*zakārum, tamûm*) in tandem with the ritual killing a donkey (*qaṭalum bayyārum*) or touching of the throat (*lîpit napištim*) to secure treaties. See Eidem, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan*, 317–21). For collection of addition data from Mari, see Lafont, “Relations internationales,” 262–76).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Durand, “Précurseurs syriens aux protocoles néo-assyriens,” 70.

elders of Dabish for an oath to be sworn by the god of the Simal¹¹¹ in order to conclude the alliance between the Yamina and Simal: 'to enter into (the oath) of the Simal'.¹¹²

In light of the interpretation proposed above, the second prepositional phrase *i-na ni-ha-di* may be understood to indicate the location where the treaty was to be enacted, namely among the Simal clan of the Nihadum who were presumably in the vicinity of Uranum and the elders of Dabish. The locale where treaties were sworn is often indicated in contemporary reports about them.¹¹³ In the case of A.981, however, the Nihadum populations in question were mobile pastoralists (*banûm*), so a geographical locale for the treaty could not be specifically noted; consequently, it was simply requested that this accord take place 'among the Nihadum' (*i-na ni-ha-di*).¹¹⁴ This rationale best explains Uranum's reflection on the

¹¹¹ Perhaps the god Itur-Mer (see Durand, "Itûr-Mêr, dieu des serments").

¹¹² This conclusion is reflected in the translation above where the phrase *niš ilim* is inferred in the petition, *ana libbi bin Si[m'a]/ ina Niḫadī i n[i]ub*. It may be noted as well that there are at least two erasures on the tablet (ll. 34 and 50), which make it possible that this might even have been a mistake or an abbreviated form for 39) *ana libbi < niš ilim ša > bin Si[m'a]/ 39) ina Niḫadī i n[i]ub*.

¹¹³ E.g. A.2078:10–11: *niš ilim ina bit Dagan zukur* (cited in Lafont, "Relations internationales," 264); cf. M.7322 (in Durand, "Précurseurs syriens aux protocoles néo-assyriens," 55), in which the oath of the god is said to be assigned to (*esēhum/esekum ana*) the Rabbean city of Zarri. The use of the preposition *ana* as opposed to *ina* in this context is likely due to the accompanying verb. Another noteworthy text is OBTR 1: 11) ^{ANŠE}*ḥa-a-ri i ni-iq-tū-ul* 12) *[ni-i]š-DINGIR.MEŠ¹ i-na bi-ri-ni i ni-iš-ku-un*, which uses a compound preposition *ina biri* to indicate the participants of the treaty.

¹¹⁴ For the possible connections of the *ḥipšum* with the idea of a 'gathering,' see § 6.2. (cf. other well-known terms for political 'gatherings,' though not all necessarily tribal one, in the sources from Mari: *riḥsum*, *pubrum* and *taḫtamum*). This conclusion is also compatible with the argument made by Fleming (*Democracy's Ancient Ancestor*, esp. 101–102) that there was potentially an organizational difference between the sedentary

fact that “by birth we belong among the Yahurreans, not to the Yar(r)adum, (thus) we do not have a *hibrum*-(community) or *kadûm* in the pasture-land. We are native to the Yahrur...” That is, Uranum and the elders of Dabish, unlike the Yar(r)adum Yamina, did not have the necessary social communities of mobile pastoralists (that is, the *hibrum*-community or *kadûm*) in the steppe to conclude the alliance with the Nihadeans. Thus they needed the assistance of the district governor and Zimri-Lim to help arrange the alliance.¹¹⁵

A.981, then, has illustrated how tribes could enact political accords in their conduct of inter-tribal politics. Uranum and the elders from Dabish claimed to be Yahurreans “by birth” (*istu šitim*) in their petition. The expression *istu šitim* conveys the importance of kinship for tribal membership through its allusion to the act of childbirth;¹¹⁶ that is, the collocation *istu šitim* in A.981 minimally

Yamina and pastoralist Simal, in that the former was without a *hibrum* community, for example, whereas the Nihadean Simal was not.

¹¹⁵ Fleming has convincingly argued that the *hibrum* is a Yamina term that approximates, but is more specific than the general term for mobile pastoralists, or *hanûm* (*Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 97–100). Thus Uranum and the elders of Dabish lacked the Yamina equivalent of the Simal's *hanûm*, which was necessary to enact the *hipšum*. In support of Fleming's conclusion that the terms *hibrum* and *kadûm* are characteristic of the Yamina tribe, it should be noted that Durand had cited A.2924 (“Peuplement,” 161–2), which places the term *hibrum* in the mouth of another Yamina tribal member. For the more difficult term *kadûm*, which seems to designate some form of political authority in the pasture (*ina navûm*), see Charpin and Durand, “Prétendants au trône,” 112–3.

¹¹⁶ The association of the verb *našûm* with childbirth is also evident in an Old Babylonian incantation that describes the gestation and expected birth of a child: “In the waters of intercourse, bone was created; in the flesh of muscles, a baby (*lillidum*) was created... Open are the paths for you (oh child), the ways are [open] for you. The [midwife] is sitting for you, she who creates us all... ‘(Oh child), bring yourself out!’” (1) *i-na me-e na-a-ki-im* 2) *ib-ba-ni e-še-em-tum* 3) *i-na ši-ir [šî]-ir-ḥa-ni-im* 4) *ib-ba-ni li-il-id-um* 16) *[pu-ul]-tu-ku-um ṭu-ú-du* 17) *pa-a-da-nu u[x-x-x-k]ā-ku-um* 18) *na-aš-ba-at-ku-um [x-î]ḫ-ā-ba-tum* ... 27) *šu-ši ra-ma-an-ka* [van Dijk, “Une incantation accompagnant la naissance de l'homme,” 503; cf. CAD T *ṭudu* 121 mng

evokes the bonds of kinship as a means for tribal membership and may even connote the importance of filiation for tribal identity. For example, the closest parallel in the letters from Mari to the expression *ištu šitim* found in A.981 is Yasmah-Addu's letter to the god Nergal (*ARM* 1.3). In this missive Yasmah-Addu understood his own kinship to be grounds for divine favor and, therefore, he traced his descent back three generations.¹¹⁷ Yasmah-Addu pleaded for an heir, requesting that Ila-kabkabu's lineage be perpetuated through him so that his 'irreverent' rivals, namely the family of Yaggid-Lim, did not come to power at Mari.¹¹⁸ He reasoned that the divine favor already shown to his ancestral line served as precedence for the perpetuation of his future filiation. Using the phrase *ištu šitim*, he recalled his birth and contrasted the nature of his kin-based identity (*ištu šitīya*) with the demise (*ūl ibasšū*; lit. 'does not exist') of his opponents. The life-giving and identity-forming event of his birth (*ištu šitīya*), then, is juxtaposed with the fate of anyone who would dare to offend a deity: "Since my birth, whoever offended a god, has been ruined." The collocation *ištu šitim* is an assertion about his kinship identity, which is inextricably bound up with his family history, thereby establishing his petition to the god Nergal for an heir to succeed him. The warrant of kinship suffuses the entire letter, as Yasmah-Addu's introduction of his own biological kin-based identity (*ištu šitīya*) is thematically interrelated with the letter's concluding appeal for progeny.

1a)). In this incantation the verb *našīm* is used to describe the exiting of a baby from the birth canal. (For additional mythological accounts of primordial birth, see Stol, *Birth in Babylonia*, 109–118.)

¹¹⁷ For a demonstration of the importance of a time horizon of three generations in the letters found at Mari, see Charpin, "L'évocation du passée," 109.

¹¹⁸ "Now why have you taken my son? Former (kings) requested increased kingdoms, but I request vitality and an heir." (23') [*x x i-na-an-n*]a DUMU *it-ti-[l]a mi-na[m]* 24') [*x x te-el-qé-e*] *pa-nu-ut-tum ma-tam ra-pa-aš-tam* 25') [*x x it-ti-ka-ma i-ri-šu i-na-an-na a-na-ku*] [*x x it-ti-ka na*] *pí-iš-tam ù pé-er-ša-am e-ri-iš*). Collations can be found in Durand LAPO 18 931.

Just as in Yasmah-Addu's letter to the god Nergal, the phrase *ištu šitim* in A.981 connected the image of childbirth with the social consequences of kinship. It was the kin-based, tribal identity of Uranum and elders of Dabish that determined their present political predicament, in which they had not been able to reconcile with the Nihadean Simal. That is, the solidarity of kinship that helped to define the Yahurreans was in part to blame for their ongoing conflict with the Nihadean Simal. The role of kin-based intra-tribal solidarity is further referenced by Uranum's subsequent assertion: "... We are *zurruḫātum* to the Yahrur clan, but let us side with the Simal among the Nihadean-clan..." *Zurruḫātum* is a *hapax legomenon* and, therefore, its meaning is inferred from its morphology and from the context in which it was used. At the same time, the conclusion to be reached about *zurruḫātum*, from both its morphology and context, is that it was a word used to reinforce the preceding notion of *ištu šitim*, namely that tribal identity was structured by means of kinship. Morphologically, this word seems to be a *purrust*-noun (an action-noun).¹¹⁹ Etymologically, it is related to the verbal root $\sqrt{\text{zrh}}$, 'to rise up, come forth.' Thus its meaning should be, 'one who arises from' or 'one who is a native(-born).'¹²⁰ Lemmata derived from the cognate verbal root $\sqrt{\text{zrh}}$ are attested in the West-Semitic languages of Punic and Hebrew, where one also finds connotations of tribal association. For example, in Hebrew the word זֶרַח , an aleph-preformative noun, expresses the idea of 'someone who is a native,'¹²¹ whereas the Punic *mzrh* is juxtaposed with *šḫ* 'clan.'¹²² The noun *zurruḫātum* is not a kinship term, per se, but re-focuses attention on the solidarity that Uranum and the elders of Dabish had with the Yamina.

Consequently, Uranum and the elders of Dabish emphasized their membership among the Yahurreans via birth (*ištu šitim*) and thereafter called attention to their tribal solidarity with the Yamina (*zurruḫātum*) only to contrast these things with their desire for an

¹¹⁹ GAG § 55n.

¹²⁰ Durand, "Unité et diversités," 119.

¹²¹ Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 28–9.

¹²² See Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, no. 69: 16–17.

inter-tribal alliance to secure peace with the Simal: “By birth (*ištu šitim*) we belong among the Yahurreans... We are native to (*ṣurruḫātum*) the Yahrur, but we want to enter into (a treaty of) the Simal (tribe) with the Nihadeans...” The rhetorical attention on the tribal identity and solidarity of Uranum and the elders of Dabish established the problem, which in turn anticipated their proposed solution, namely *ḫipšum* or a *ḫipšum*-like action. Uranum and the elders of Dabish wanted to move beyond their intra-tribal solidarity among the Yamina, and an inter-tribal gathering or alliance was the means for tribes to establish political solidarity with one another.

SIMAL-YAMINA RELATIONS AND THE TWO YAMINA REVOLTS

Perhaps the best-documented tribal relations under Zimri-Lim are those between the Simal and Yamina. The proximity of numerous Yamina to Zimri-Lim’s capital at Mari and the relatively high percentage of Yamina populations in the *ab Purattim* under the Simal king’s authority¹²³ created a rich documentation of the exchanges between these two tribes. At the same time, however, both the Simal and Yamina actively negotiated and interacted with other tribes in Syro-Mesopotamia. The result was that tribal interactions—not only between the Yamina and Simal but also among other tribes in the upper Jezira and elsewhere—created a political network that constrained and catalyzed the political events of the period. The interactions between the Simal and Yamina tribes provide a secure relative chronology of events that help to frame the history of the relations among other tribes as well; therefore, it is necessary to briefly review portions of this history before treating the Simal’s interactions with the Numha and Yamut-bal.

Zimri-Lim’s Simal tribal identity created a delicate relationship with the Yamina populations. As noted in chapter three, the Yamina kings ruled from several centers along the central Euphrates,

¹²³ For the distribution of the Yamina within the three central districts of Zimri-Lim’s state, see Durand, “Un centre bejaminite aux portes de Mari;” Albà, “La localization des terroirs benyaminites.” Also, see the discussion above in chapter three.

such as at Mishlan (tell Ramadi), Samanum (tell Mayyadin), Tuttul (tell Bi'a) and Abattum (tell Thadayin).¹²⁴ Early in his reign, Zimri-Lim appears to have secured the loyalty of several of the Yamina kings in the central Euphrates River Valley. For example, the Simal king gave his sister, Atrakatum, to the Yamina king Sumu-Dabi.¹²⁵ Yet things quickly deteriorated at the end of Zimri-Lim's first full year as king, at the end of ZL 1.¹²⁶ Sumu-Dabi, Zimri-Lim's new brother-in-law, organized a rebellion from Mishlan. Sumu-Dabi appears to have confederated the main Yamina rulers from all along the *ab Purattim* and even sought outside help from regions to the north, near Tuttul, as well as to the east, such as Eshnunna.¹²⁷ While this event still remains poorly documented in the extant sources, its outcome was seemingly decisive. Zimri-Lim claims to

¹²⁴ For Mishlan, see Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 517; for Samanum being in the vicinity of Meyadin, see Durand, "Problèmes d'eau et d'irrigation dans la région de Mari," 122–123; for Abattum, see D. Charpin, "Tell Munbaqa, Ekallâtum-sur-l'Euphrate."

¹²⁵ Whether or not Zimri-Lim's mother may be identified as Yamina depends, in large measure, upon the restoration in fragmentary seal TH 72.15: Hadnu-[Addu] (cf. Charpin, "Les legendes de sceaux de Mari," 73; Sasson, "Thoughts of Zimri-Lim," 115–6 n. 1; also "The King and I," 457). This artifact is, itself, complicated, as it is a seal impression on a letter composed by Zimri-Lim to Tish-Ulme. That is, it is a seal on the envelope of an unopened letter (see Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 16, 386). If this restoration is accepted, Hadnu-[Addu] from TH 72.15 must, furthermore, be considered one and the same with the Hadnu-Addu known from an unprovenanced seal (RIME 4, 764) that reads: ^{fid}IM-du-ri GÉME *ba-ad-ni-^AI[M]* 'Addu-duri, the [secondary] wife of Hadni-Addu' (see Ziegler, "Le harem de Zimri-Lim," 56–7 and compare the description of Yataraya, a wife of Zimri-Lim, using GÉME: GÉME *zi-im-ri-li-im*). The Addu-duri of this seal, then, must be equated with the well-attested woman from Zimri-Lim's palace bearing this same name (Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir," 337).

¹²⁶ For the date of beginning of the first Yamina revolt, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 190 n. 153.

¹²⁷ See A.3569 (cited by Durand, "Peuplement," 165–66).

have destroyed the walls of Mishlan and Samanum in a 'non-canonical' year name that is dated to the second month of ZL 2.¹²⁸

While Zimri-Lim likely dealt with Yamina insurrection for months after the first Yamina rebellion,¹²⁹ the conclusion of the revolt brought relative stability to the *ah Purattim* and allowed Zimri-Lim to expand his political influences into the upper Jezira. The tenuous peace won by the Simal king after the first Yamina rebellion, however, was by all measures short lived. A little more than a year after the end of revolt a second insurrection broke out. The second Yamina revolt is much better documented, having involved many more outside forces. For example, the Eshnunneans actively advanced into the Sinjar and Habur regions and the Numha and Yamut-bal played important roles in the course of the war as well as in its aftermath. The international politics of the second Yamina revolt, then, are much more complicated and dynamic by comparison with what is known from the first.

The conclusion to the second Yamina revolt, while more slowly achieved, seems to have been no less decisive for Zimri-Lim. The Simal king, with help from his allies, successfully repelled the Eshnunnean forces from the Sinjar and Habur. As for the Yamina, they were forced to acknowledge Zimri-Lim's sovereignty in the *ah Purattim*. For example, it is in the final negotiations that concluded the peace after this war that the already discussed letter A.981 is to be situated. That is, an inter-tribal alliance secured peace between the Yamina and Simal at this moment. Yet unlike the outcome of the first Yamina revolt, the second revolt established an unmistakable asymmetry between the Simal king and his Yamina vassals. The dominance of the Simal after this event is perhaps best witnessed by the year name for ZL 6, which commemorates the new arrangement: "the year Zimri-Lim took a census (*ebēbum*) in

¹²⁸ See ARM 9.12 (see also, Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 259, where four additional examples are signaled).

¹²⁹ The 'canonical' year name, which replaces the reference to the destruction of the walls of Mishlan and Samanum, more generally refers to the defeat of the Yamina. This change was likely the result of a more conclusive resolution to the conflict in the weeks or months that followed the razing of Mishlan and Samanum.

the land.”¹³⁰ The *tēbibtum*-census, which Zimri-Lim commissioned, registered the Yamina for corvée-labor that was to be supplied to the Simal king. The relations between the Simal and Yamina at the conclusion of the second Yamina revolt, then, marked a significant change from the previous relationship between these two tribes.

Simal, Numha, and Yamut-bal relations during the first Yamina revolt and the beginning of the second Yamina revolt

The above outline of the Simal-Yamina interactions during the first half of Zimri-Lim's reign is a sufficient guide for understanding contemporary relations among the Simal, Yamut-bal and Numha tribes. To begin with, the relations between the Simal and Numha can be traced back to the time before Zimri-Lim's accession to the throne at Mari. Prior to Zimri-Lim's reign, the relationship between the Numha and the Simal was mutually amicable. When Shamshi-Adad captured the Numha city of Kurda, members of the royal family found refuge in the court of Yahdun-Lim at Mari.¹³¹ After the collapse of Samshi-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, at the advent of Zimri-Lim's reign, the Numha and Simal continued to enjoy a strong bond, appealing to the past precedent established between the two tribes during Yahdun-Lim's reign.

The sources from Zimri-Lim's reign, however, preserve a well-documented account of the relations between the Numha and Simal yet they also trace a clear evolution in the relationship between these two tribes. While the Numha tribe's relationship with the Simal was initially strong, with appeals to past parity, the two tribes grew increasingly hostile toward each other.¹³² The changes that took place are best viewed against the backdrop of conflicts that arose within Zimri-Lim's state, in particular the two revolts of the Yamina discussed above. The Yamina's conflicts with the Simal king Zimri-Lim served as a catalyst for the evolution in the relationship between the Numha and Simal. During the first Yamina revolt the Numha supported the Simal tribe in hopes of securing a

¹³⁰ MU *zi-im-ri-li-im ma-tam ú-bi-bu*.

¹³¹ See Durand "Peuplement," 136.

¹³² FM 2.117.

partnership of equals with the Simal, whereas during the second Yamina revolt the Numha allied with the Simal only to turn against Zimri-Lim when the outcome of the war failed to meet their expectations. Following the second Yamina revolt, Numha-Simal relations only grew increasingly tense, being aggravated further by the Simal's loyalty and preferences shown to the Yamut-bal tribe.

Simal and Numha relations

The earliest documented encounter between the Simal and Numha during Zimri-Lim's reign unfolded during ZL 1. As already noted, it may have been that the Simal had arranged a pact, perhaps *bišum*, with the Numha, which accounts for the close relations between these two tribes early in Zimri-Lim's reign.¹³³ What is clear, however, is that Yahdun-Lim, Zimri-Lim's father, had been harboring members of the royal family from Kurda, who were of Numha extraction, when Shamshi-Adad captured the city of Mari. In a manner consistent with his father's treatment of the Numha, Zimri-Lim took the throne of Mari and helped to install an heir from among the refugees of Kurda's royal family at Kurda, a man named Simah-Ilani.¹³⁴ The precise date of the accession of Simah-Ilani cannot be fixed, yet it is likely that Zimri-Lim supported Simah-Ilani with the expectation that the latter would return the favor and assist the new Simal king in his fight against the Yamina during the first Yamina revolt. Simah-Ilani's loyalties were required because, among other reasons, clashes surfaced in the western reaches of Simal influence at Der and the Numha had some presence in the region of Zalmaqum. The importance of the Numha for protecting Simal interests at this moment is recounted by the *sugagum* of Der, a man named Hamman. According to Hamman, the kings of Zalmaqum were quick to ally against Zimri-Lim and to prepare plans against the Simal center of Der. Moreover, the *sugagum* of Der revealed that the situation was dire as the Eshnun-

¹³³ Durand, "Peuplement," 137. There is, however, no explicit reference of it published to date.

¹³⁴ Simah-Ilani was the son of Sumu-Numaha, who escaped to Mari when Shamshi-Adad captured Kurda.

neans were orchestrating actions in support of the Yamina as well.¹³⁵ Hamman pleaded with the Simal king, therefore, that he quickly organize support against the Yamina to put down the rebellion and dissuade Eshnunna from getting involved; he additionally made specific mention of enlisting help from the Numha. The *sugagum* of Der insisted: “Let the Numha [go with Isq]a and Qa to kill the foal... before Eshnunna makes its decision...”¹³⁶

It is likely that Simah-Ilani’s accession to the throne of the Numha at Kurda came amidst this crisis of the first Yamina revolt, either anticipating the deteriorating relations between the Simal and Yamina in the lead up to the first revolt or not long after it had begun.¹³⁷ In the end, Zimri-Lim was able to secure support from the Numha, among others, against the Yamina and prevented Eshnunna from entering into the war.¹³⁸ Zimri-Lim claimed to have decisively quelled the first Yamina revolt early in ZL 2, having named the following year, “The year Zimri-Lim accomplished the

¹³⁵ ARM 26.24 is difficult to date (see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 191 n.163). While Durand, ARM(T), 139 has dated this communiqué to ZL 3 (ZL 2’), I have placed it during the first revolt of the Yamina, at the end of ZL 1. That Eshnunna was considering getting involved in the first Yamina revolt is clear from A.3274+ (signaled in Charpin, “La chronologie des souverains d’Ešnunna,” 63; see also Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 190). Also, I have connected Ashmad, the sender of this letter (ARM 26.24) with the *merhūm* who is known from the very early months of Zimri-Lim’s reign.

¹³⁶ ARM 26.24: 24) [n]u-um-ḫa-a^{K1} ḫa-ra-na[m] li-iš-ba-at it-ti is-g[a-a] ù qa-a^{K1} 25) ANŠE ḫa-a-ri li-iq-[a]ú-u[-ma li-ip]-ḫu-[ur] 26) [A]a-ma LÚ eš4-nun-na^{K1} i-na x-[...] 27) [A]e4-em-šu i-ša-ab-[b]a-a^r a¹-[a]u.

¹³⁷ Simah-Ilani likely was installed shortly after the feast of Ishtar at the end of ZL 1, when he accompanied Zimri-Lim to Der. Thus this missive was likely from as early as the final month of ZL 1 or, more likely, the opening months of ZL 2 (see also Lafont, “L’admonestation des anciens de Kurda,” 109ff).

¹³⁸ See ARM 27.14 and Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 190 n. 160.

defeat of the Yamina.”¹³⁹ Yet the Numha’s support for Zimri-Lim during the first Yamina revolt did not secure lasting, amicable relations between the Simal and Numha. Rather, a dispute arose between Zimri-Lim and Simah-Ilani. The new Numha king quibbled with Zimri-Lim about the nature of the relationship between the two, namely whether he was Zimri-Lim’s ‘brother’ or his ‘son.’ What is most striking about this disagreement is that it was the Numha tribal leaders—*sugāgu* and elders—who insisted Simah-Ilani should be considered equal in status with Zimri-Lim:

Now concerning the fact that [Simah-Ilani] does not write my lord as son, but [has addressed my lo]rd as a brother, (it is) the *sugāgu* and [the elders] of Numha (who) come and say to Simah-Ilani: “Why do you address Zimri-Lim as son? Just as Ashtamar-Addu regularly wrote to Yahdun-Lim as brother, you also should write to Zimri-Lim as a brother.”¹⁴⁰

Simah-Ilani’s status anxiety arose from the memory of the past relations between the Simal and Numha and the current situation created by the collapse of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. It was a period of uncertainty and instability in which the Numha were struggling to establish and expand their influence. Thus they sought to secure aid from the Simal tribe. Yet Numha expectations of the Simal and the Simal’s unwillingness to fully support the Numha would precipitate the deterioration of the relationship between these two tribes in the years that followed.

Simal-Numha relations come into focus again in the seventh month of ZL 3, when the Yamina again fomented political unrest

¹³⁹ MU *zi-im-ri-li-im da-am-da-am ša* DUMU.MEŠ *ia-mi-na i-du-ku* (see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 257–259).

¹⁴⁰ FM 2.117: 27-38 27) *ù aš-šum ma-ru-tam si-ma-aḫ-i-la-a-né-e* 28) *a-na be-li-ia la iḫ-pu-ru-ma* 29) *a-ḫu-tam-ma a-na be-[li-ia iḫ-pu-ru]* 30) LÚ.MEŠ *su-ga-gu* *ù* [LÚŠU.GI.MEŠ] 31) *ša nu-ma-be-e i[l-li-ku-nim-ma]* 32) *a-na si-ma-aḫ-i-la-a-né-e* *ki-a-am iq’-bu-ú* 33) *um-ma-mi am-mi-nim a-na* *zi-i-ri-li-im* 34) DUMU-*tam ta-ša-ap-pa-ar* 35) *ki-ma aš-ta-mar* ^{AM} *at-ḫu-tam* 36) *a-na ia-aḫ-du-li-im iḫ-ta-ap-pa-ru* 37) *at-ta a-na zi-im-ri-li-im* 38) *at-ḫu-tam ša-ta-ap-pa-ar*. This issue is also raised in FM 2.118, but see ARM 28.162, the only letter from Simah-Ilani to Zimri-Lim, which addressed him as ‘brother.’

in what would be the second Yamina revolt. During this second war between the Simal and Yamina, the latter successfully coordinated with the Eshnunneans against Zimri-Lim and the Simal. Zimri-Lim may have been able to keep Eshnunna out of the first Yamina revolt, but this was not the case during the second war with the Yamina. The Eshnunneans prosecuted a two-front war against Mari: the first in the south in the region of Suhum, and the second in the north along the Tigris and stretching into the Jebel Sinjar and Habur triangle.¹⁴¹ While the Eshnunneans pressed Zimri-Lim on these two eastern fronts, the Yamina mounted their offensive in the west.

As the war with Eshnunna was beginning, the tensions between Zimri-Lim and Simah-Ilani persisted beyond strongly worded diplomatic exchanges. For example, Sumu-Hadu, a Mariote official, offered further insight into the strained relationship between these two tribal kings at this moment. Sumu-Hadu's missive (*FM* 2.116) had as its central concern the issue of who would control the city of Shubat-Enlil. Shubat-Enlil (Shehna) had served as the capital for Shamshi-Adad and had continued to be under the control of a former functionary of Shamshi-Adad named Samiya.

Now if Qarni-Lim and Simah-Ilani do not deal honestly with my lord while my lord begins to prepare his campaign and take away the possessions of that city, then let my lord send a tablet to them so that they will join my lord in this matter. But if they hear about this after the fact, they will not follow my lord with their troops, but will trouble my lord or side with Eshnunna and pressure (us).¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ See *ARM* 28.168. The two-fronted attack is discussed by Joannès, "Une mission secrète à Ešnunna," where he published M.5431. See also Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 101 n. 272. The war with Eshnunna was also precipitated by the rejection of their peace treaty that sought to fix Harradum as the border (see Charpin, "Un traité entre Zimri-Lim de Mari et Ibāl-pi-El II d'Ešnunna," 151).

¹⁴² *FM* 2.116: 47) ... ù šum-ma qar-ni-li-im 48) ù si-ma-ab-i-la-né-e-em^r i^r-ti be-lí<-ia> i<-ša>-ri-iš 49) ú-ul i-da-ab-bu-bu a-di be-lí KASKAL-a ú-ša-am-ma-ru i-la-ak 50) ù^r ba-šī^r-it a-lim ša-ti a-na [qa-ti-šū] ú-ta-ar^r ru^r 51) ù^r be^r-lí a-

Sumu-Hadu, acknowledging the distrust between Zimri-Lim and Simah-Ilani, exhorted the Mariote king to defuse the regional unease before campaigning to Shubat-Enlil.

The tensions between Zimri-Lim and Simah-Ilani, however, were serious. Moreover, secret alliances were forming around the competing interests of these two kings. On the one side, Zimri-Lim's daughter, Shimatum, informed her father that Haya-Sumu, the king of Ilan-sura, and Turum-Natki, the king of Apum, had reached an agreement to support Zimri-Lim's conquest of Shubat-Enlil.¹⁴³ On the other hand, an intercepted letter sent by Samiya, a former functionary of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia at Shubat-Enlil, revealed that Simah-Ilani had conspired against Zimri-Lim and his allies, Haya-Sumu (king of Ilan-sura) and Turum-Natki (land of Apum). Samiya's missive recounted that, "Simah-Ilani sends to me, saying 'I will come so that I may kill Turum-Natki and return the land of Apum to the side of Shubat-Enlil.'" ¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the published documentation does not clearly indicate how these mounting tensions were resolved.¹⁴⁵ Simah-Ilani mysteriously died not long after this moment and the events at Shubat-Enlil are unclear. What seems certain is that at least for several more months Samiya and Turum-Natki retained joint control of Shubat-Enlil and the land of Apum.

na ki-la-l[i]-šu-nu tu-pa-am l[i]-i-š-pu-ur 52) 'ù i-na a-wa¹-l[im an-ni-tim it-ti be-l]i-ia i-te-eb-bu 53) 'ù-l[ia]-šu-ma wa-ar-ke[a-nu-um i-še-em-mu]-ma 54) wa-ar-ki be-l[ia]-ia qa-du-um ša-b[i]-šu-nu ú-ul i-l[a]-ku 55) 'ù be-l[ia] ú-pa-la-sú 'ù-lu-ma pa-a[n LÚ.MEŠ èš-n]un-na<KI> 56) i-ša-ab-ba-tu-nim-ma ú-ba-a[š-zu-hu-ni]m.

The fear of Eshnunna entering the first Yamina revolt is also reflected in ARM 26.24: 26–7.

¹⁴³ See ARM 10.5.

¹⁴⁴ A.1421: 41) *ši-ma-ab-i-la-[né-e] 42) [a]-na še-ri-[i]a [i]š-la-ap-pa-ra-am um-ma-a-mi lu-[ul-l[ia]-ke]am-ma tu-ru-um-na-a[t-ke] 43) 'ù ma-a-at a-pi-im a-na i-d[i] šu-ba-at-d[e]n-lil*^{KI} (cited in Charpin "Šubat-Enlil," 135 n.35. See also Charpin and Durand "Prétendants au trône," 109; Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 433–4).

¹⁴⁵ This may be remedied by the publication of Samiya's correspondence (see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 198 n. 245).

When the new Numha king of Kurda, Bunu-Eshtar, came to the throne the Numha's desire to control the region of Shubat-Enlil had not abated. Yet despite past tensions between the Numha and Simal, Bunu-Eshtar supported Zimri-Lim in the course of the second Yamina revolt.¹⁴⁶ For example, during the second Yamina revolt, the city of Talhayum attracted anti-Simal attacks. Talhayum, like Der during the first Yamina revolt, was an important economic center, home to a lucrative Old Assyrian *kārum* as well as being an outpost of Simal political control in the west. Talhayim was a part of 'upper Ida-Maras',¹⁴⁷ located east of Der in the western Habur triangle, near the politics of Nahur, Qirdahat, and Ashnakkum.¹⁴⁸ Its connections with the Simal tribe are recounted by Yawi-Ili, the king of Talhayum, who recalled ceding his city and its environs to the Simal during the reign of Yahdun-Lim: "Previously during the reign of your father, Yahdun-Lim, we turned over the land of Yapturum, the (capital) city of Talhayum and its villages, to the Simal."¹⁴⁹ Yawi-Ili later reaffirmed the Simal's political control over this region when Zimri-Lim ascended the throne of Mari. Thus during the second Yamina revolt, Talhayum became a western front for the Yamina-Simal conflict.

The events in Talhayum at the beginning of the second Yamina revolt are documented in a letter (A.1610) sent from Ibal-pi-El, the *merhūm*, to Zimri-Lim. The events in this letter transpired short-

¹⁴⁶ Note, however, the clearly agitated nature of Bunu-Eshtar prior to being enthroned at Kurda, according to the report of Yassi-Dagan in A.1215 (Charpin and Durand, "Prétendants au trône").

¹⁴⁷ ARM 5.51.

¹⁴⁸ Old Assyrian Talhat (see Veenhof, "The Old Assyrian Period," 60 n. 238).

¹⁴⁹ ARM 13.144. 26) *qa-[tam pa-]ni-tam ša i-nu-ma ia-aḫ-du-u[n-li-im]* 27) *a-bi-ka ma-a-at ia-ap-tu-ri-ī[m]* 28) *a-lam ta-al-ḫa-ya-am ù ka-ap-ra-ni-šu* 29) *a-na DUMU si-im-a-al nu-ut-te-er* (with collation by Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 478 n. 125). Because Talhayum was located in pastureland (*nighum*) traversed by mobile pastoralists from the Simal, the Simal tribe had a strong influence on the politics there (see chapter three above).

ly after the tenth month of ZL 3¹⁵⁰ and perhaps as early as the days before Zimri-Lim's arrival at Der in the next month, when he installed Yawi-Ili as the new king of Talhayum.¹⁵¹ The missive reports the assassination of Talhayum's king.

I set aside twenty men and dispatched them to Talhayum. Zalmaqum heard (about) the troops' entering (the city of Yapturum). They assembled and occupied the gate of Talhayum. A rebellion occurred inside the city and they killed their king as well as 30 pastoralists—Nuhmuna-Addu (of the clan of) Ibalahu (was) an eyewitness and Hali-hadun is his witness. They cut off the head of their king and their heads (the pastoralists' heads), and sent them to Shubat-Shamash. Moreover, the 20 pastoralists that I sent were killed.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Cf. ARM 18.58-60, which is dated to the tenth month and thirtieth day of ZL 3, includes eight *madaru*, or those who were members of royal families, that would soon be installed at polities in the upper Jezira (Sammatar, Tamarzi, Shub-ram and Itur-mali, Yahniya, Yakin-Amar, Kirib-Adal, and Tishnam). At the same time, A.1610 reports that many of these same persons had since been installed in Ida-Maras and were fighting alongside Qarni-Lim, before the latter had defected to Eshnunna in the opening months of ZL 4. The first months of ZL 4, then, surely provide the *terminus post quem*. See further Durand, "Talhayum," 108 n. 31; cf. Sevaliè, "Mari e Hazakkanum."

¹⁵¹ ARM 12.50; see Birot, ARM(T) 27, 23; (cf. Durand, "Talhayum," Sevaliè, "Mari e Hazakkanum"). The reason for Bunu-Eshstar's absence from the list in A.1610 may be the Numha's confrontation with Eshnunna in the East, for as A.505 reveals, it was the Numha king at Qattara who provoked the Eshnunnean advance up the Tigris River, Wadi Tharthar, and into the Sinjar. Furthermore, there are discrepancies between A.1610 and its near duplicate A.1212, which suggest that this list should not be taken to be a comprehensive list of Zimri-Lim's allies (cf. A.3591).

¹⁵² A.1610: 33) ... 20 LÚ *ša-ba-am* 34) *ap-ru-ús-ma a-na ta-[al-ḥa]-yi-im^{K1}* 35) *aṭ-ru-ud e-re-eb ša-[bi-im ša]-a-tu* 36) *ša-al-ma-qum [i]š-me-ma [p-ḥ]u-ur* 37) *i-na ba-ab ta-al-ḥa-ḥa-yi-im^{K1}* 38) *iṣ-ṣi-[iṣ]-ma ba-ar-tum i-na li-ib-bi* 39) *a-lim^{K1} iṣ-ša-ki-in-ma LUGAL-šu-nu* 40) *i-du-ku ù nu-uh-mu-na^d* IM 41) LÚ *i-ba-al-a-ḥu a-mi-ru-u[m]* 42) *ḥa-li-ḥa-du-un a-m[i-ir-šu]* 43) ù 30 LÚ *ḥa-ni-i qa-qa-[ad]* 44) [LUGA]L-šu-nu *qa-qa-a[s-sú-nu]* 45) *ik-ki-su-[ma]* 46) *[a-n]a šu-bu-at^dUTU u-*

According to Ibal-pi-El, Zalmaqean populations instigated a coup in the capital city of Talhayum that resulted in the assassination of Talhayum's king, Hammu-epuh, and twenty Simal pastoralists. At the same time, this missive also offers insight into the extensive support that Zimri-Lim received in the early stages of this war, for Ibal-pi-El goes on to note that:

The kings of Ida-Maras—Haya-Sumu, Sammetar, Shub-ram, Ibal-Addu, Tamarzi, Hamikuna, Yamut-Lim, Imedi-Addu, and Zakura-Abum—have joined together with their troops and the troops of the land of Apum assembled with Qarni-Lim and the pastoralists.¹⁵³

The widespread support for Zimri-Lim is confirmed by another letter (A.3591), which lists 16 kings who had allied with Zimri-Lim from the outset of the war, including a series of Numha kings from across upper Mesopotamia: Bunu-Eshtar of Kurda, Hadnu-rapi of Qattara, and Sharriya of Razama of Yussan.¹⁵⁴

Zimri-Lim, then, had secured and maintained substantial support in the early stages of the second Yamina revolt, including support from the Numha. In fact, the Numha steadfastly supported the Simal's efforts against Eshnunna, to the extent that in the course of the second Yamina revolt Bunu-Eshtar insisted: "I will not make peace (with Eshnunna) without Zimri-Lim and the pas-

ša-bi-lu 47) ʾn̄ 20 LÚ *ha-mi-i ša aṭ-ru-du* 48) *i-du-ku*... See also its near duplicate A.1212 [= LAPO 17 604-5]). That the king of Talhayum in question is Hammu-epuh, see Durand, "Talhayum," 108–9.

¹⁵³ 4) LUGAL.MEŠ *i-da-ma-ra-aš ha-ia-su-um* 5) ^m*sa-am-me-e-tar šu-nub-ra-am* 6) ^m*i-ba-al*-^dIM ^m*ta-mar-zi* 7) ^m*ha-mi-ku-na* ^m*ia-mu-ut-li-im* 8) [^m]*i-mé-di* ^dIM *ù za-ku-ru-a-bu-um* 9) [*qa-du*]-*um ša*-[*bi-šu-nu* *ù ša*]-*ab ma-a-at* 10) ʾaʾ-*p[il]-il[m]* [*pa-b*]-*i-il*r 11) *it-ti qar-ni-li-im* *ù ha-na*.MEŠ 12) *in-ne-em-du* (in Durand, "Talhayum").

¹⁵⁴ ARM 27.14 may date to the first month of ZL 4 (note Ilishu-Nasir's tenure at Qattunan extends until ZL 4 [Lion, "Les gouverneurs provinciaux," 164]). In this letter Ilishu-Nasir mentions that the Yamut-bal and Numha have joined forces, which would place the letter before Qarni-Lim's defection to the Eshnunneans sometime before the fifth month of the same year.

toralists!”¹⁵⁵ Yet the Numha responses to the second Yamina revolt slowly began to shift in the course of the war. Just as had happened in Zimri-Lim’s dealings with Simah-Ilani, the Numha were increasingly frustrated by the Simal king’s refusal to treat them as equal partners and to acknowledge their political influence in Ida-Maras. Thus the pernicious issue of the control of Shubat-Enlil quickly raised the Numha tensions with the Simal. For example, after the war, at the end of ZL 5, Yassi-Dagan, a Mariote military commander would report on the events in the Habur region:

My Lord does not give heed to the matter of Bunu-Eshtar. That man is like a broken cart, he is not able to leave his palace. Yet he constantly arrogates to himself greatness. He is (always) getting involved and has won over all of the kings of the land of Ida-Maras to his side, now they follow after him. Qarni-Lim sounded his alarm, while en route to Šubat-Enlil. (Now) Bunu-Eshtar received (news of this) and dispatched Sil-illam along with the troops of the Numha to Kasapa against Qarni-Lim. He, then, wrote to the kings of Ida-Maras, by the command of Bunu-Eshtar, so they have bound (any) Yamut-bal who is dwelling in their palaces!¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ ARM 27.19:14) *ba-lu-um* 15) ^m*zi-im-ri-li-im* 16) *ù ha-na*.MEŠ *ú-ul a-sa-lim*. This letter is difficult to date with precision and the enemy addressed by Bunu-Eshtar is uncertain; it is clear, nevertheless, that the enemy is not Simah-Ilani (cf. B. Lion, “ARMT XXVII 19 et le siege de Kurdâ par Bûnû-Eštar”).

¹⁵⁶ ARM 2.130: 3) *a-na a-wa-at bu-nu-IŠTAR be-lí ú-ul i-qa-al* 4) LÚ *šu-ú ki-ma* ^{G15}*ša-pa-ar-ri-im šu-ub-bu-ur-tim* 5) *i-na É-šu ú-ul uš-ši* 6) *ù ra-bu-tam iš-ta-na-ar-ri-iq qa-as-sú ú-ma-aš-ši-ma* 7) LUGAL.MEŠ *ša ma-a-at i-da-ma-ra-aš ka-la-šu-nu* 8) *a-na i-di-šu ú-ti-ib-ma wa-ar-[k]i-šu i-il-la-ku* 9) ^m*qar-ni-li-im a-na šu-bat-den-li* ^{K1}*a-na e-te-qí-im* 10) *tu-uk-ka-šu id-di* 11) ^m*[bu]-nu-IŠTAR il-qé-e-ma mši-li-il-la-am* 12) *qa-du-um ša-ab nu-ma-ha-a a-na ka-[š]a-pa-a* ^{K1} 13) *a-na pa-ni qar-ni-li-im it-ta-ra-ad* 14) *ù a-na še-er* LUGAL.MEŠ *ša ma-a-at i-[d]a-[m]a-r[a]-aš* 15) *iš-pu-ur-[m]a* 16) DUMU.MEŠ *ia-mu-ut-ba-lim ša i-na É-[š]u-nu* 17) *wa-aš-bu i-na qí-bi-ù bu-nu-IŠ[TAR]* 18) *ik-ta-su-ú*. This letter and, therefore, this conflict between Bunu-Eshtar and Qarni-Lim must date after the census

The Simal benefited from support from the Numha in the course of the second Yamina revolt. Yet as the war unfolded, collusion between the Yamut-bal and Simal regarding control of Shubat-Enlil and the land of Apum exacerbated an already strained relationship between the Simal and Numha. As the issue of Shubat-Enlil resurfaced, it again provoked Numha aggression toward Zimri-Lim.

Simal and Yamut-bal relations

Before concluding with the details of the inter-tribal politics that unfolded against the backdrop of the second Yamina revolt, it is necessary to take up Simal-Yamut-bal relations in the lead up to this event. The Yamut-bal's complex relationship with the Simal and their involvement in the international events during Zimri-Lim's reign not only elucidates the problems that beset Simal-Numha relations at the conclusion of the second Yamina revolt, but also more importantly accentuates the distinctive policy that Zimri-Lim pursued with the Yamut-bal in his conduct of international politics. For the Simal king, Zimri-Lim, solidarity with the Yamut-bal proved to be a recurrent and important means for conducting foreign politics.

Simal-Yamut-bal interactions are one of the best-documented examples of an inter-tribal relationship from the reign of Zimri-Lim. The Simal and the Yamut-bal tribes enjoyed close connections from very early in Zimri-Lim's reign. Bannum, for example, the prominent Simal *merhûm* during the first months of Zimri-Lim's reign, is credited with helping to secure the Yamut-bal tribe's political position before helping Zimri-Lim capture Mari: "he [Bannum] settled (himself) in the *nawûm*-pasture and he secured the foundations of the Simal, Numha, (and) Yamut-bal."¹⁵⁷ Additionally, Qarni-Lim, the king of Andarig and most prominent Yamut-bal figure during the reign of Zimri-Lim, was the likely beneficiary of Bannum's efforts, for he ascended the throne of Andarig just prior

in the last two months of ZL 5 and before Bunu-Eshtar's death and the accession of Hammu-rabi in the first months of ZL 6.

¹⁵⁷ This letter, A.1098, is translated in chapter three, where the Akkadian can be found in n.76.

to Zimri-Lim's enthronement at Mari. At this time, Qarni-Lim was on equal political footing with Zimri-Lim since a vassal of Qarni-Lim identified the two kings as 'brothers' (*abūka*).¹⁵⁸ This fact stands in contrast with Zimri-Lim's relationship with Simah-Ilani, the Numha king of Kurda. Moreover, an unpublished letter that documents the accession of Qarni-Lim of Andarig used language evocative of *bipšum*, or some other form of inter-tribal relations, between the Simal and Yamut-bal tribes. This missive reported that Qarni-Lim "established kinship (*damê*) and affinity (*salūtum*) with Zimri-Lim."¹⁵⁹ Lastly, that Qarni-Lim and Zimri-Lim enjoyed good relations very early in the latter's reign is reinforced, as Charpin has noted, by the administrative records from the house of Asqudum, which document gifts being sent to Qarni-Lim and to a functionary in the kingdom of Andarig.¹⁶⁰

The drama of Simal-Yamut-bal relations really began in ZL 4. While the chronology during the opening months of ZL 4 is not entirely clear, at some point Qarni-Lim, the Yamut-bal king at An-

¹⁵⁸ It is not known exactly how long Qarni-Lim reigned prior to the coronation of Zimri-Lim. That he was ruling at Andarig when Zimri-Lim came to power seems likely according to A. 995, signaled by Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 189 n. 146 (cf. Anbar, "Les relations entre Zimri-Lim, roi de Mari, et Qarni-Lim, roi d'Andarig).

¹⁵⁹ Signaled by Durand, "Peuplement," 133. Another mention of an earlier treaty between the Mari and the Yamut-bal may possibly be found in ARM 26.39, which mentions a proposed alliance between Zimri-Lim and the Muti-bal, but the identification of this tribe is less than certain (cf. Lafont, "L'admonestation des Anciens de Kurda," 212, who identifies Muti-bal with the Numha of Kurda; Anbar, "L'origine tribale de Zimri-Lim, roi de Mari," 9, who identifies it with the Yamut-bal; Heimpel, *Letters to the King*, 17, who identifies it with the Yamina).

¹⁶⁰ He states, "[L]es relations entre Mari et Andarig ont commencé très tôt. On notera au mois x de ZL 1 (Annunitum), dans une liste de dépenses de vêtement de la maison d'Asqudum." He then cites TH 82.192: 9) 1 TÚG ú-tub-lu ÚS a-na ki-iṣ-zi LÚ.KUŠ₅ 10) ša qar-ni-li-im, TH 82.221: 1) 1 TÚG bar-kar-ra ša 5 ma-na 2) zi-ga (3) a-pil-i-lí DUMU 4) ki-iṣ-zi-ia 5) DUMU š-i-p-ri-im 6) ša an-da-ri-<ig>^{KI} 7) ITI ú-ru-ḫi-im 8) u₄ 10-kam (Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 189, n. 146).

darig, defected to the Eshnunneans. Qarni-Lim's decision was provoked by the fact that Eshnunna had campaigned into the Habur and Sinjar. Yet Zimri-Lim took the initiative to respond to Qarni-Lim's defection in a matter of weeks and reconciled with the Yamut-bal.¹⁶¹ That this peace was predicated on inter-tribal negotiations can be discerned from the fact that the event may be correlated with the contemporary event of the marriage of a Simal *merhûm*, Hali-hadnu, to his Yamut-bal bride.¹⁶² Hali-hadnu served in the prominent position of *merhûm* beginning in ZL 4, which provides a *terminus a quo* that is congruent with the timeline of events during the war with Eshnunna and Zimri-Lim's arrival at the city of Ashlakka in the first half of ZL 4.¹⁶³ Yarkab-Addu alluded to this event, then, when writing to Zimri-Lim:

¹⁶¹ This event is witnessed to by Yarkab-Addu's letter, *ARM* 28.36. Yarkab-Addu's dossier (*ARM* 28.34–37) is contemporary with Hali-hadnu's tenure as *merhûm* (ZL 4–6), during which time the only alliance between the Simal and Yamut-bal is concluded in the course of the war with Eshnunna.

¹⁶² For the occasion of marriage in connection with the *hipšum*, see Durand, *Annuaire* (2000-1), 702.

¹⁶³ The Hali-hadnu mentioned in this letter should be identified as the Simal pastoralist leader, who was active during years 4 through 6 of Zimri-Lim's reign (*ARM* 21, 96–97). For the alternate spellings, Hali-hadun/nu, see *ARM* 28.36–37; on the homophonous diviner see Durand, *ARM* 26/1, 236–8. For his role among the pastoralist in the region of Zalmaqum, see *ARM* 26.27, 31, 48, and esp. A.1977, where Hali-hadnu displays and intimacy with the regions geography in his reports, namely that one of the kings of Zalmaqum, the king of Shuda, was on the border of the Simal's territory of Talhayum at the city of Mamagir: "Now Shibkuna-Addu, the man of Shuda, is at Mamagir, at the border of the Simal mobile pastoralists" (quoted in Durand, "Peuplement," 124, n, 74; 30) *ù si-ib-ku-na-^dIM [L]Ú šu-da-a^{K1} 31 [i-na p]a-at-ti ha-na.MEŠ DUMU si-im-a-al 32 [i-na] [ma³-gi-ir^{K1} na-šī-ib)*. It should also be noted not only is Yarkab-Addu's dossier (*ARM* 28.34–37) contemporary with Hali-hadnu's tenure as *merhûm*, it is also predominantly concerned with Yamut-bal-Simal relations.

The wife of Hali-hadnu (is) a Yamut-bal... This woman is not a servant; she was taken in (exchange for) bridewealth! The Simal and the Yamut-bal pastoralists (made) *hipšum*! A brother has established an affinity (*salutum*) with a brother.¹⁶⁴

In this missive, Yarkab-Addu is clear that the *hipšum* involved an inter-tribal marriage. While details of the system of marriages that accompanied *hipšum* were either not highly regularized or are unclear from the extant data, what must be noted is that the *hipšum* between the Simal and Yamut-bal in ZL 4 marked a re-establishment of relations between these two tribes through the recurrent practice of exogenous marriages.

That the Simal and Yamut-bal tribes had previously concluded a *hipšum*, or something similar, may be inferred from A.3572, which should be understood to evoke the recurrent affinal relationship between the Simal and Yamut-bal tribes: “The Yamut-bal and Simal from time immemorial have been kindred and branches of the Hana.”¹⁶⁵ While the vocabulary and uncertain historical context of this letter make its interpretation challenging, it seems to trace the two tribes’ lineages back to the Hana, which is understood here as an ethnic appellation as in the so-called genealogy of Hammu-rabi’s dynasty.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, in favor of the conclusion that *hipšū* were repeatedly negotiated between the Simal and Yamut-bal, it should be remembered that the relationship between the Simal king of Mari and Yamut-bal king of Andarig was close from the onset of Zimri-Lim’s reign. That said, the above treatment of *hipšum* and the

¹⁶⁴ ARM 28.36 4) MUNUS aš-ša-[at b]a-li-ḥa-ad-nu-ú 5) MUNUS šī-i DUMU.[MUNU]S [ā]a-mu-ut-[b]a-lim... 8) MUNUS šī-i 9) ú-ul GEME 10) i-na te-er-ḥa-[tū]m 11) le-qé-e 12) ḥa-na DUMU si-im-a-al 13) ù ia-mu-ut-bu-lum 14) bi-ip-šum a-ḥu-u[m] 15) it-ti a-ḥi-im 16) sa-lu-tam i-pé-eš. Cf. the response of Zimri-Lim to Yarkab-Addu’s request in ARM 28.37, where the Mariote king insists, “I will interrogate that woman!” (10) [MUNUS] ú-sà-an-na-aq-šū).

¹⁶⁵ 2) ‘i’ ni-iš-ku-un [ia-mu-ut-ba-lum^{KI}] 3) ù DUMU si-ma-al iš-tu da-a[r...] 4) at-ḥu-ú ú pu-úr-sà-at ḥa-na.MEŠ (Durand, “Unité et diversités,” 114–7).

¹⁶⁶ E.g. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 35.

kinship rhetoric associated with it should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that all tribal groups during Zimri-Lim's reign may be grouped as segmentary subsets of either the Simal or Yamina. That is, the Yamut-bal should not be considered as belonging to the Simal,¹⁶⁷ but as an independent tribe, portions of which were perhaps integrated into a state with the same complexity with which the Simal were integrated into Zimri-Lim's state. At the same time, however, the solidarity that characterized *hipšum* between the Simal and Yamut-bal was central to Zimri-Lim's pursuit of his foreign interests in the upper Jezira.

¹⁶⁷ See Streck, "Zwischen Weide, Dorf und Stadt: Sozio-ökonomische Strukturen des amurritischen Nomadismus am Mittleren Euphrat;" cf. Durand and Charpin, "Fils de Sim'al," 150; Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 440; Durand "Peuplement," 133.

Table 4.2. Selected events in inter-tribal relations (ZL 0–6)

ZL 0	12th month	Atrakatum, Zimri-Lim's sister, married to Sumu-Dabi, king of Mishlan (<i>ARM</i> 23.335-6)
ZL 1	7th–8th months 9th month, day 25 10th month 11th month	–Tensions mount between the Yamina and Simal (A.56; A.1956) –Bannum, the <i>merhūm</i> , dies (M.12109) –Rush to secure Numha support against the Yamina (<i>ARM</i> 26.24) –Feast of Ishtar at Der with Simah-Ilani, a recent successor to the throne of Kurda ¹⁶⁸
ZL 2	c. 2nd month 12th month	–The walls of Mishlan and Samanum are destroyed. The first Yaminite revolt is quelled. (<i>ARM</i> 21.128) –Simah-Ilani and Zimri-Lim argue over status: ‘father-son’ or ‘brothers’ (<i>FM</i> 2.117) –Zimri-Lim leaves on campaign for Shubat-Enlil (<i>ARM</i> 23.370: <i>ARM</i> 23.514) ¹⁶⁹
ZL 3	prior to month 7 7th month c. 11th month	–Planning and posturing to capture Shubat-Enlil (<i>ARM</i> 10.5; <i>FM</i> 2.116; A.1421) –Bunu-Eshtar takes the throne of Kurda ¹⁷⁰ –War with Eshnunna and Yaminites is underway and Eshnunna takes Rapiqum and invaded Suhum (<i>ARM</i> 26.477) –Talhayum Affair (A.1610; <i>ARM</i> 27.64); ¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ See Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 189 n. 148.

¹⁶⁹ Additional relevant administrative texts may be found in Lacambre, “la Gestion du bronze,” 105-7.

¹⁷⁰ See Charpin and Durand, “Prétendants au trône,” 106.

¹⁷¹ This event may be as late as the first half of ZL 4.

ZL 4	prior to month 5 months 5–7 6th month 8th month 9th month 10th month	–Qarni-Lim defects to Eshnunna –Zimri Lim at Ashlakka (A.505);¹⁷² <i>hipsum</i> between Simal and Yamut-bal (ARM 10.157) –Qarni-Lim and Bunu-Eshtar reconciled (A.2152; A.2821) –The Eshnunneans besiege Kurda (ARM 27.16) and Bunu-Eshtar accepts a treaty with them –Eshnunna leaves Shubat Enlil. Turum-natki, king of Apum, is buried. Qarni-Lim, king of Andarig, puts a son of Turum-natki's on the throne (see A.2821); Zimri-Lim retreats to Mari due to Yaggih-Addu invasion in the district of Saggaratum(?) and Sasiya foments dissent among kings in the Habur (ARM 27.17; A.1025) –Eshnunna is installed at Andarig; Zimri Lim besieges Andarig –Eshnunna begins to retreat (FM 6.26)
ZL 5	7th month 8th month 11th–12th months 12th month	–Presents given to Qarni Lim of Andarig (ARM 25.625) –Lupahum announces hostile prophecies at the conclusion of the peace with Eshnunna –Census of the kingdom (ZL 6 = ‘The Year Zimri-Lim took a census of the land’) –Bunu-Eshtar's health was failing as there are renewed hostilities between him and Qarni-Lim (ARM 2.130)
ZL 6	3rd month	–Hammu-rabi of Kurda ascends to the throne. –Problems between Hammu-rabi of Kurda and Qarni-Lim –Zimri Lim at Andarig (M.10706) attempts to reconcile Qarni Lim of Andarig with Hammurabi of Kurda.

Simal, Numha and Yamut-bal relations at the end of the second Yamina revolt

The Numha had supported the Simal and Zimri-Lim during the first Yamina revolt and then, despite being frustrated in their efforts to control Shubat-Enlil, did so again during the second Yami-

¹⁷² See Charpin “Le nom antique de Tell Rimah,” 135 n.31.

na revolt. By comparison, the Yamut-bal had wavered in their fidelity toward the Simal in the course of the second Yamina revolt. Yet Zimri-Lim and the Simal were staunchly loyal to the Yamut-bal and quickly restored the relationship with them. *Hips̄sum* was arranged in ZL 4 and it successfully created solidarity between the Simal and Yamut-bal that would guide Zimri-Lim's foreign policy in the years to come.

After the Simal and Yamut-bal had arranged their *hips̄sum*, Zimri-Lim quickly dispatched envoys to negotiate peace between Qarni-Lim and those kings nearest to him. Zimri-Lim may have been understanding of Qarni-Lim's lapse in loyalty, but Qarni-Lim's neighbors from the Sinjar, especially the Numha of Kurda, were not as quick to overlook his perfidy.¹⁷³ Hali-hadnu arrived as an arbitrator to reconcile the Numha king, Bunu-Eshtar of Kurda, and the Yamut-bal king, Qarni-Lim of Andarig. His mission as an emissary from the Simal to the Yamut-bal and Numha was a success. He reported the upshot of the arbitration in tribal terms:

My lord is at Ashlakka, and he has dispatched me to the district of the Numha and Yamut-bal. I have [established] peace and good will between [Bunu-Eshtar] and Qarni-Li[m], (between) the Numha] and the Yamut-bal.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Sammetar was also sent to deal with other kings, mainly from the Wadi Tharthar region that had been betrayed by Qarni-Lim (see Charpin and Zigler, *Essai d'histoire*, 199).

¹⁷⁴ ARM 10.157 (= LAPO 18 1092): 8) *be-lí i-na aš-la-ka-a^{K1} wa-š̄-ib* 9) *ù i-ia-ti a-na ha-la-aš* 10) *nu-um-hu-ú ù ia-mu-ut-ba-lim* 11) *it-ru-da-an-ni-m[a]* 12) *sa-li-ma-[tim]* 13) *ù dam-qa-[tim]* 14) *bi-ri-it [bi-na-eš₄-tar]* 15) *qar-ni-lim nu-um-hu-ú* 16) *ù ia-mu-ut-[ba-lim aš-ku-un]*. It is worth noting that the region of Ida-maras is described as the *hals̄sum* of the Numha and Yamut-bal. The sense of this description may be akin to that found in FM 6.18, where Sumu-lanasi described his district as a *nighum* for the Simal. That is, part of Sumu-lanasi's complaint was that his land was being enclosed by the mobile pastoralists, who used it as a part of their *nighum*. Thus in ARM 10.157 it may be that Hali-hadnu is acknowledging the Numha and Yamut-bal interests in the region of Ida-maras, in particular as part of their *nighum*.

Only weeks earlier Hali-hadnu had been involved with a *hipsūm* that established affinity between the Simal and the Yamut-bal, and this recent history unmistakably shaped the outcome of the negotiations he led between the Simal and Numha. As events unfolded after the peace between the Numha and Yamut-bal was established, the Numha grew increasingly suspicious of the Simal's intentions in the Habur triangle. For example, the Simal reconciliation with the Yamut-bal as well as Simal-supervised arbitration between the Yamut-bal and Numha afforded Qarni-Lim an opportune moment in the ongoing war with Eshnunna. The Yamut-bal had managed to secure peace with the Simal and Zimri-Lim's allies, while at the same time had also maintained the favor of Eshnunna.

With the Yamut-bal no longer in the scope of Eshnunna, the latter turned its attention to Kurda, forcing Bunu-Eshtar to agree, if superficially, to Eshnunna's terms for peace. Hali-hadnu again reported on the tenuous peace between Bunu-Eshtar, on the one hand, and Qarni-Lim and Eshnunna, on the other: "Bunu-Eshtar said (the following) to Tatur-Abnu: 'I made a false peace with the man of Eshnunna and Qarni-Lim. If the man of Eshnunna and Qarni-Lim commit an offense, I will go with my troops and we will attack them!'"¹⁷⁵ Thereafter, we learn that the Eshnunneans accompanied Qarni-Lim to the city of Shubat-Enlil where:

Qarni-Lim buried Turum-Natki in Apum. He gathered the kings nearby Shubat-Enlil and they wept for Turum-Natki—Qarni-Lim fell to the ground (in mourning)! And they installed the son of Turum-Natki to kingship at Shubat-Enlil.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ A.2821:15) ... ù bu-nu-eš₄-tár a-na ta-túr-ab-nu 16) ke-em id-bu-ub um-ma šu-ma sa-li-ma-am ša sa-ra-tim 17) it-ti LÚ èš-nun-na^{K1} ù qar-ni-li-im e-[pú]-úš 18) šum-ma a-na gu-ul-lu-li-im LÚ èš-nun-na^{K1} ù qar-ni-li-im 19) pa-ni-šu-nu i-sa-ak-ka-[nu] qa-du-um sa-bi-ia an-ḫa-ri-ra-am-ma 20) GISTUKUL it-ti-šu-nu ni-ip-pé-éš (cited in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 200, n. 260).

¹⁷⁶ A.2821: #) ù qar-ni-li-im^m tu-rum-na-at-ki i-na a-pí-im^{K1} #) iq-bi-ir-šu ù LUGAL.MEŠ ša i-ta-at šu-ba-at-^dEN.LÍL^{K1} ú-pa-aḫ-bi-ir-ma a-na tu-ru-um-na-at-ki ib-ku-ú #) ù qar-ni-li-im ip-pa-al-si-ih ú DUMU-šu ša tu-rum-na-at-ki, a-na LUGAL-ru-tim i-na šu-ba-at-^dEN.LÍL^{K1} iš-ku-nu-šu (cited, without line numbers, in Charpin, "Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum," 136 n.37).

In spite of the alleged threats from Bunu-Eshtar, there was no response from the Simal's allies in the Sinjar or Habur that immediately followed Qarni-Lim's actions. Rather, the fallout from Qarni-Lim's actions would become apparent the moment Zimri-Lim was forced to leave the district of the Sinjar.¹⁷⁷ At that time, regional politics quickly deteriorated. The gravity of Qarni-Lim's actions created a situation that, as will be shown, accentuated the loyalty of the Simal to their *hipsūm* with the Yamut-bal and demonstrated the central role of this inter-tribal connection for Zimri-Lim's pursuit of his foreign interests in the upper Jezira.

The fallout of Qarni-Lim's campaign to Shubat-Enlil is documented by Yassi-Dagan, a Mariote military officer,¹⁷⁸ who stayed on in the region. In particular, his letter A.1025 offers unique insight into the political situation in the Habur at this moment. Yassi-Dagan relayed, "Since my lord has withdrawn to the banks of the Euphrates, allied kings and all of the land have been conspiring against my lord and their treachery is treasonous!"¹⁷⁹ He identified Sasiya, the Turukkean king, as a primary agitator of this political unrest. According to Yassi-Dagan,

[Sasiya] encouraged opinion against my Lord. He has conveyed a message to the kings (of the region): 'Where is Zimri-Lim whom you sought to be your suzerain? When he was mounted on his chariot, you followed after him. (So) why, then, has he not come and saved you (now)?' This is what Sasiya said to Bunu-Eshtar, Hadnu-rabi, Sharrum-kima-kalima. Zimriya, and (other) kings.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ ARM 27.17.

¹⁷⁸ See Birot, *ARM(T)* 27, 22 n.97.

¹⁷⁹ A.1025: 3) [*iš-tu u₄-mi-ī*]m ša be-lí a-na [*a-ab*] ÍD.UD.KIB.NUN.NA *ú-ra-am-mu-ú* LUGAL.MEŠ *tí-[ī]-tum* 4) [*ū ma-a-ā*]um ka-lu-ša 'e-lí' be-lí-ia *it-ta-aš-ka-nu ù ša-pa-as-sú-nu* 5) [*it-tā*]-ba-al-ka-[xx]-at (the *editio princeps* is in Kupper, "Une lettre du general Yassi-Dagan" 337–348. See also, Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 146–54).

¹⁸⁰ A.1025: 14) *pí-e-em e-lí be-lí-ia uš-ta-<ba>-al-ki-it* 15) *ù a-na* [LU]GAL.MEŠ *a-wa-tam ki-[a]-am is-ša-ba-at um-ma-a-mi a-li-ma zī-im-rí-li-im* 16) *ša a-na a-bu-ti-ku-nu tē-še₁₀-a-šu-ma i-nu-ma šu-ú i-na* ^{GIŠ}*nu-ba-lim ra-ak-bu*

Yassi-Dagan reported how Sasiya pressured local rulers to question their loyalty to Zimri-Lim and his loyalty to them, while the Mariote king dealt with Yamina insurrections in the district of Saggartum.

Whispers could be heard that the Mariote king had not been forthright about where his loyalties lay in the struggle over the upper Jezira, which compounded the insinuations that Zimri-Lim was unable to deal with the problems in the Habur and Sinjar. His continued loyalty to, and support for the Yamut-bal king—who had not only betrayed Zimri-Lim and his neighbors but also opportunistically advanced to Shubat-Enlil with Eshnunna's help—grew increasingly difficult for regional kings to understand. A.1025 again provides insight into Zimri-Lim's policy in the region and in particular his relationship with Qarni-Lim. Sasiya, the Turukkean king, claimed that Zimri-Lim had retreated from the Habur and Sinjar because of a secret alliance he had made with Qarni-Lim and Eshnunna:

Since my lord has withdrawn to the *ah Purattim*, that man [Sasiya] has complained against my Lord, saying 'Zimri-Lim has made a divine oath with Qarni-Lim and the Man of Eshnunna, thus he has not come to (help) us, (but) arose and went (back) to his land.' This (complaint) and more are made against my Lord.¹⁸¹

Sasiya peddled disinformation to regional kings, no doubt with hopes of expanding his own influence in the upper Jezira at the expense of a vulnerable and beleaguered Zimri-Lim. That Zimri-Lim did not, in fact, have an accord with Eshnunna as Sasiya claimed is clear from the fact that just weeks after Yassi-Dagan's

17) *at-tu-nu wa-ar-ki-šu ta-al-la-ka am-mi-nim i-na-an-na la il-li-kam-ma* 18) *la ú-še-zi-ib-ku-nu-ti an-né-e-tim ʒa-zi-ia a-na bu-nu-eš-tár ʔha-at-nu-ra-bi* 19) *d[LU]GAL-ki-ma-ka-li-ma ʒi-mi-ri-ia ù LUGAL.MEŠ i-ta-wu-ú.*

¹⁸¹ A.1025: 23) *ki-ma be-li a-na a-ah ʔDUD.KIB.NUN.NA ú-ra-am-mu-ú [ù L]Ú šu-ú* 24) *ne-[me-et]-tam e-li be-li-ia ir-{x}-ta-ši um-ma-a-mi ʒi-im-[ri-li-š]m it-ti qar-ni-li-im* 25) *ù [L]Ú ʔš-nun-naKI ni-iš AN-lim uʒ-ʒa-ka-ki-ir-ma aš-šum ki-a-a[m šu-ú a-na ʒe]-ri-ni ú-ul il-li-kam* 26) *it-bé-e-ma a-na ma-ti-šu it-ta-la-[ak an-né]-e-tim ù m[a-d]a-tim-ma* 27) *LÚ šu-ú e-li be-li-ia na-aš-ku-un.*

letter, Zimri-Lim besieged Eshnunnean forces at Andarig and ultimately helped to drive the Eshnunneans out of the Sinjar.

The Turukkean king also tried to play on the insecurity of regional kings in the Sinjar and Habur by insisting that the relationship between Zimri-Lim and Qarni-Lim was markedly different from the Mariote king's relationship with these other allies. Sasiya asserted that not only had Zimri-Lim sworn an oath with... the Man of Eshnunna, but also with Qarni-Lim. What is interesting about Yassi-Dagan's report, however, is that he did not contest Zimri-Lim's unique relationship with Qarni-Lim. Rather, he simply intimated to Zimri-Lim that his behavior toward Qarni-Lim was drawing too much attention:

Concerning the *nāqidum* my Lord sent to Qarni-Lim, it has been reported (that) the tablet he carried was inscribed (with the following): "Speak to Qarni-Lim! Thus says Zimri-Lim: 'Regarding the secret message which I have sent to you (with this) *nāqidum*, quickly take care of this matter!'" They have heard that tablet and they have become angry with my Lord. It is as if my Lord made peace with Eshnunna, (for) all the land is afraid.¹⁸²

Yassi-Dagan did not rejoin Sasiya's argument about Zimri-Lim and Qarni-Lim's unique relationship, rather he was concerned that this alliance was fostering rumors that Zimri-Lim was an ally of Eshnunna too. Yassi-Dagan made it clear that Zimri-Lim's alliance with the Yamut-bal has made it difficult to counter the false accusations by the Turukkean king, namely that the Mariote king had agreed to peace with the Eshnunnean.

¹⁸² A.1025: 33) *ù aš-šu[m] ša i-na pa-ni-[im] na-qí-da-am be-lí* 34) *a-na še-er qar-ni-li-im iš-pu-ru ú-[e-er-ru-nim-ma* 35) *i-na tuṭ-pí-im ša na-šu-ú ki-a-am ša-aṭ-[u u]m-ma-a-mi a-na qar-ni-li-im qí-bí-ma* 36) *um-ma zī-im-ri-li-im-ma aš-šum te₄-mi-im na-aš-ri-im ša na-[q]í-[d]a-am* 37) *aš-pu-ra-ak-keum ar-ḫi-iš te₄-ma-am [š]a-a-tu ku-uš-[r]a-am* 38) *tuṭ-pa-am ša-a-tu iš-mu-ma ir-tú-bu be-lí šú-ul-[u-ma]-am.* 39) *tu-ša-ma be-lí it-ti LU èš-nun-na [is-s]a-lim* 40) *ma-a-tum ka-lu-ša i-ta-da-ar.* (For the meaning of *šullumum* see Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 17, 152 n. q; contra Kupper, "Une lettre du general Yassi-Dagan," 340).

What is remarkable about this episode from the second Yaminite revolt is that despite the political liability this position posed for Zimri-Lim in the Habur and Sinjar, the Simal were steadfast in their support of the Yamut-bal. This loyalty continued even after Zimri-Lim had returned to the Yamut-bal capital of Andarig and helped to drive Eshnunna from the region. After the military conflict ended, Zimri-Lim concluded a treaty with Ibal-pi-El II (ZL 5) and formalized Qarni-Lim's expansionary efforts by giving control of Shubat-Enlil to the Yamut-bal.¹⁸³ Adding insult to injury, the Yamut-bal king had vacillated in support of the anti-Eshnunnean alliance led by the Simal in order to expand his influence into the Habur. The Numha, by comparison, had tenaciously fought the Eshnunneans alongside Zimri-Lim and the Simal. When the Numha contested this outcome by instigating skirmishes with the Yamut-bal in the following months (during the final months of ZL 5 and the initial months of ZL 6), Zimri-Lim again intervened and traveled to Andarig only to negotiate a peace that was favorable to the Yamut-bal.¹⁸⁴ It may be at this moment that we have an insight into the devolving relations that had begun to develop between the Simal and Numha. A letter from the *šapitum* of Qattunan, Zakira-Hammu, to Zimri-Lim reported: "Our troops were about to do battle against the Numha, (but) they did not engage (us), saying "We are brothers (the Simal and Numha)... we are searching for our enemy, the Yamut-bal!"¹⁸⁵ The narrow avoidance of conflict between the Simal and Numha may reflect the fact that the Simal's

¹⁸³ It is also at about this time that gifts are sent from Zimri-Lim to Qarni-Lim of Andarig and Haya-Abum, king of Apum (ARM 25.625). Additionally, synchronism between eponyms at Tell Leilan with those from Mari indicates Qarni-Lim controlled Shubat-Enlil beginning in ZL 5 (Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 166–168; see also the treaty at Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan) in Eidem, "An Old Assyrian Treaty from Tell Leilan, 185–207;" van de Mieroop, "The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991," 306–8).

¹⁸⁴ For the date of this event see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 207 n. 342, where the unpublished administrative record M.10607 is cited.

¹⁸⁵ ARM 27.68: 27) *a-na ka-a[kē]-ki it-ti* ^{LÚ}*nu-um-ḫa-yā*^{K[II]} 28) *e-pé-s[ā]-im* ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *nu-ut-tu-un pa-nam iš-ku-nu-ma* 29) ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *nu-um- {PI}-ḫa-yu ip-tú-ru um-ma-a-ni* 30) *ab-b[u]-ni... na-ak-ri-ni* 31) [*ia-m*]*u-ut-ba-li-ā*^{KI}.

formal support for the Yamut-bal and betrayal of the Numha was not widely known, yet the Numha were already aggressively challenging the Yamut-bal's control of Shubat-Enlil.

From the Simal and Yamut-bal perspectives, even the memory of the events of ZL 4 and the war with Eshnunna reinforce the impression that the two tribes had forged a durable inter-tribal solidarity and that extensive efforts would be taken to nurture this relationship. For example, A.505, a letter from a Yamut-bal official, glossed over any Yamut-bal duplicity towards the Simal during this war and, instead, emphasized the tenacity of the relationship between these two tribes:

Since last year when the Akkadians (that is, Eshnunna) came up, the Simal pastoralists have shepherded in the land of Yamut-bal (and) there has been no crime or offense...! The spear of the Yamut-bal and the spear of the Simal pastoralists have been joined together, (now) there is no(thing that) can hinder either of you.¹⁸⁶

This selective memory of the events during ZL 4–5 and the relationship between the Simal and Yamut-bal was, likewise, shared by the Simal king Zimri-Lim, who silenced any attempt to remember his need to confront and defeat the Yamut-bal at Andarig. It is clear that some consideration was given to the possibility of commemorating in Zimri-Lim's year names the capture of Andarig during the war with Eshnunna. A lone administrative text bears the year name (ZL 5), "The year Zimri-Lim besieged Andarig," along with the twice attested, "The year Zimri-Lim reported a victory

¹⁸⁶ A.505 21) *ù iš-tu ša-ad-d[a]-ag-di iš-tu ša ak-ka-du-ù i-le-e-em ha-na*.MEŠ DUMU *si-ma-al*^{K1} 22) *i-[n]a li-ib-bi ma-a-at ia-mu-ut-ba-lim*^{K1} *i-re-i* 23) *gl[u-ù]-lu-ul-tum ù hi-ù-ti-tum ú-ul ib-ba-aš-šú ...* 49) GIŠ.ŠUKUR *ia-mu-ut-ba-lim*^{K1} ù GIŠ.ŠUKUR *ha-na*.MEŠ DUMU *si-ma-al* 50) *pu-ḫu-ur in-né-mi-id-ma pa-ri-ku-um a-na pa-ni-ku-nu* 51) *ú-ul ib-ba-aš-šú* (Durand, "Unité et diversité," 114 n. 146 and Charpin and Durand, "Tell Rimāh," 135, n. 31, which indicates A.505 celebrates the re-union of Qarni-Lim and Zimri-Lim. See also Anbar, "L'expédition d'Ešnunna" 300.

over Qarni-Lim.”¹⁸⁷ Yet that these events never achieved canonical status in the year names must be interpreted as an intentional effort to forget the Yamut-bal’s disaffection in the course of this war.¹⁸⁸

Furthermore, it is instructive to compare Zimri-Lim’s commemoration of the events of ZL 4 and his intentional forgetting of the Yamut-bal’s disloyalty with the bitter reflections of the Numha king of Kurda, Hammu-rabi. In ZL 13, seven years after the second Yamina revolt, Hammu-rabi attempted to persuade his Numha tribe to side against Zimri-Lim by reminding them of this earlier event: “We have no enemy, except for Mari... To this day, never before has Zimri-Lim given help to the Numha. In the time of Qarni-Lim, he supported the rebellion...”¹⁸⁹ The Numha king Hammu-rabi, then, resurrected many of the criticisms that were leveled at Zimri-Lim in the course of the war with Eshnunna. In retrospect these claims no doubt had even greater persuasive pow-

¹⁸⁷ MU *zi-m-ri-li-im da-am-ri-da-am sa qar-ni-li-im i-du-ku* (see Durand, “La conscience du temps;” Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 260). Anbar. “Les relations entre Zimri-Lim, roi de Mari, et Qarni-Lim, roi d’Andariq,” sought to correlate this year name with ZL 11, but Qarni-Lim’s death is likely to be situated in ZL 10 (See Charpin, “Une decollation mystérieuse”).

¹⁸⁸ A second and not incompatible reason is that the claim about Zimri-Lim’s capture of Andarig was incredulous. This may be surmised by comparing his claim with the letters composed during of the siege of Andarig. For example, Yassi-Dagan, a Mariote military commander, sent a missive to Zimri-Lim during the prosecution of the war against Ešnunna. This letter reveals that the Ešnunnean troops only arrived at Andarig after a being forced out of Shubat-Enlil by the king of Halman—that is, Ešnunna was on the retreat (*FM* 6.26). Also, in *ARM* 27.18 a Mariote governor recounted to Zimri-Lim that his allies were so eager to besiege Andarig they were willing to begin the siege before the Mariote king arrived with his all his troops (see Birot, *ARM(T)* 27, 21).

¹⁸⁹ A.3577:18’–19’, 22’–25’: 18’) *ul-la-nu-um ma-ri^{ki} na-[ak-ra-am]* 19’) [*ša-n*]é-em ú-ul [*ni-šu-ú*] 22’) [*u₄-m*]a-am ma-ti-ma iš-tu ‘pa-na’ a-na wa-a[r-ka-ma] 23’) *zi-im-ri-li-im tap-pu-ut nu-um-b[*a-a^{ki}*]* 24’) [*ú-u*] il-lí-ik i-nu-ma qar-ni-li-im tap-p[*u-tam*] 25’) [*ša n*]a-ba-al-ku-[*tim*] il-lí-ik (in Durand, “La fin de Mari,” 45 n. 39).

er. The visceral reflection of the Numha king of Kurda, Hammurabi, in the final months of Zimri-Lim's reign arose in no small part because of the pattern that Zimri-Lim had shown in favoring his relationship with the Yamut-bal. Not least among the tangible interests that the Numha felt was kept from them was control of Shubat-Enlil. Zimri-Lim had granted authority over Shubat-Enlil to Qarni-Lim in the aftermath of the second Yamina revolt and war with Eshnunna. And after the mysterious end of Turum-Natki's son, Zuzu,¹⁹⁰ whom Qarni-Lim had installed at Shubat-Enlil, the Yamut-bal king installed another son of Turum-Nakti, Haya-abum. Moreover, Qarni-Lim, himself, kept a residence of his own at Shubat-Enlil.¹⁹¹ Thus Zimri-Lim's consistent solidarity with the Yamut-bal contrasted with the Simal's relations with the Numha, who had shown loyalty to the Simal in both Yamina revolts, yet had twice been denied control of the city of Shubat-Enlil.

CONCLUSION

This chapter opened with a quote from the political theorist Alexander Wendt in which he insisted that "[M]aterial forces still matter and people are still intentional actors, but the meaning of the former depend largely on the shared ideas in which they are embedded..."¹⁹² Wendt conceptualized international politics in such a way that he conveyed its deeply contextual and culturally constructed nature. Taking a cue from Wendt, I have outlined the general features of the king-based system of international relations during Zimri-Lim's reign and taken seriously the culturally encoded shifts within this system, namely the changes in the status of Zimri-Lim and his vassals. Additionally, I have attempted to connect these developments with actual historical events, recognizing as Wendt states that "material forces still matter and people are still inten-

¹⁹⁰ See Durand, "La défaite de Zûzû," Sasson, "On Reading the Diplomatic Letters in the Mari Archives."

¹⁹¹ See van de Mieroop, "The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991. A Preliminary Report," 305-344

¹⁹² Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 193. (It is worth noting Wendt's debt to Giddens's social theory throughout his work, both terminologically and conceptually. It is explicitly acknowledged on page 143).

tional actors.”¹⁹³ The case studies of Kabiya of Kahat and Ibal-Addu of Ashlakka were similar, not only in that these kings did not explicitly claim to be leaders of a tribe, but also in that Zimri-Lim’s conduct of international relations demonstrated that he did not consider these vassals to be important long-term allies. Instead, the Mariote king practiced *realpolitik* that ultimately forced him to take military action against the very kings he had earlier enthroned at their respective polities.

Over ten years ago Jesper Eidem generalized Zimri-Lim’s strategy in the Habur, stating that the Mariote king was focused on keeping foreign influences at bay and trying “not to implement any comprehensive control which would have exceeded his resources.”¹⁹⁴ The resources utilized by Zimri-Lim to compel loyalty from his vassals in the Habur were less well-defined when Eidem wrote, as he himself observed at the time. What can be said, however, is that Zimri-Lim did not always opt for the most expedient political choice to secure his interests in the region. Rather, the history of the Simal’s interactions with the Yamina, Numha, and Yamut-bal have illustrated the significant role that inter-tribal politics played in Zimri-Lim’s conduct of international politics. Zimri-Lim’s interaction with the Numha and the Yamina, in which the relationships were asymmetrically framed, were characterized by *realpolitik* akin to how Zimri-Lim conducted international relations with sovereigns like Kabiya and Ibal-Addu from the Habur. At the same time, however, solidarity with the Yamut-bal became the preferred means for the Simal king, Zimri-Lim to pursue his interests in the Habur and Sinjar. That is, Zimri-Lim’s conduct of international politics followed a pattern in which he showed an unusual commitment to the Yamut-bal. The inter-tribal politics between the Simal and Yamut-bal, in particular as it arose from *hipšum*, created a staunch solidarity between these two tribes, even to the extent that it shaped these tribes’ memory of events in the Habur during second Yamina revolt. And that Zimri-Lim, himself, understood that his *realpolitik* in international relations was not sufficient on its own to influence politics in the region is revealed by comparison with

¹⁹³ Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 193.

¹⁹⁴ Eidem, “Northern Jezira in the 18th Century,” 256.

his conduct in international relations with the Yamut-bal. For example, it is notable that the Mariote king's interactions with the kings of Kahat and Ashlakka, and the accompanying shifts in kinship terminology that marked them, concentrate around major military events—the collapse of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, the war with Eshnunna and its aftermath (ZL 5), and the war with Elam and its residual skirmishes. Furthermore, it is not a coincidence that these crises, which exposed Zimri-Lim's shifting relationships with kings like Kabiya and Ibal-Addu, were the very same instances when Zimri-Lim demonstrated staunch, unswerving loyalty to the Yamut-bal tribe. The next chapter will continue to trace the theme of international politics by looking more closely at the end of Zimri-Lim's reign. In particular, it will consider the effects of the Elamite war on Zimri-Lim's conduct of international politics and will show that the Mariote king's dependence upon his intertribal relations with the Yamut-bal left him vulnerable and ultimately contributed to his demise.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END: ZIMRI-LIM'S WAR WITH ELAM

History... is above all the science of change.

[R]eal time is, in essence, a continuum. It is also perpetual change.

—Mark Bloch¹

THE BEGINNING OR THE END?

The preceding chapter discussed how Zimri-Lim conducted international politics as head-of-state as well as how he acted as a leader of the Simal tribe when dealing with other kings that foregrounded their tribal affiliations. It also delineated Zimri-Lim's varying policies in his conduct of international politics and showed that Zimri-Lim's foreign policy differed when pursuing political interests in cooperation with the Yamut-bal as compared with diplomatic dealings with other states' sovereigns, like Kabiya or Ibal-Addu. Building on this observation in the previous chapter, then, the present chapter will treat a specific historical problem from Zimri-Lim's reign, namely his war with Elam. In so doing it will demonstrate how this incident precipitated a crisis for the Mariote king that ultimately contributed to his loss of political authority.

The primary focus in this chapter is the Elamite military campaigns that began in ZL 10 and continued into the following year. At the close of the third millennium an Iranian raid into Mesopotamia had brought an end to the dynasty at Ur. The collapse of the Ur III dynasty cleared the ground for a new trajectory in Syro-

¹ Bloch, *French Rural History*, xxv; *The Historian's Craft*, 24.

Mesopotamian history, and at the turn of the second millennium 'Amurrite' kings sprang up throughout the region. The documentation from Mari throws remarkable light on the political interactions between Iran and Mesopotamia in the eighteenth century BCE, when Elam had withdrawn from Syro-Mesopotamia after sacking the city of Ur yet continued to exert influence in regional politics from atop the Iranian Plateau.² The frequent and prominent mentions of Elam in Mari's archives provide significant details concerning Elamite interactions with Syro-Mesopotamia. The extant data, while a mere snapshot that primarily captures the thirteen years of Zimri-Lim's reign, has nonetheless attracted repeated scholarly efforts to elucidate the role of Elam in the international politics during Zimri-Lim's reign.

Zimri-Lim's war with Elam was one of the most significant historical moments of the Mariote king's reign. The current historiography stresses its importance because this war contributed to the creation of a new socio-political reality. In particular, the war that Elam started with Mari and several other Mesopotamian states has been viewed as a catalyst for an Amurrite sense of ethnic self-awareness or Amurrite nationalism. Charpin and Durand have suggested that an Amurrite ethnic self-awareness and nationalist opposition was developed in response to Elamite military actions against Babylon. They describe the events of ZL 10–11 as, "... un phénomène sans parallèle : la création d'une conscience nationale amorrite devant l'invasion étrangère." And they add that,

Nous voudrions pour finir proposer un modèle iranien qui conviendrait aussi bien pour les Elamites que pour les Perses. Ce que nous avons dit des amorrites au début de II^{ème} millénaire pourrait être dit, *mutatis mutandis*, des Grecs d'Asie Mineure face à la toute puissance du Grand Roi... Mais cette suzeraineté reconnue est aussi sentie comme un pouvoir dont on

² The history of Elam during this period has been treated by Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, 24–32; Limet, "Les rapports entre Mari et l'Elam;" Steinkeller, "A History of Mashkan-Shapir," in *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City*. On the complexity of the Iranian polity at the very beginning of the second millennium, see D Graef, *De la dynastie Simaški au Sukkalmahat*.

rêve sans cesse d'être débarrassé, en développant une conscience ethnique particulière et en faisant appel aux frères de race, de l'autre côté de la mer. De la même façon, le souverain du plateau iranien est tenté à l'occasion par l'aventure occidentale mais ses défaites éventuelles restent des événements limités et périphériques, quelque enthousiasme patriotique qu'elles aient pu faire naître chez le vainqueur!³

For Charpin and Durand, then, Elam was a cultural 'other' for Syro-Mesopotamians that unintentionally created ethnic solidarity among these populations and catalyzed a nationalistic response. And the importance of a nationalistic 'Amurrite' response to the Elamites invasion is evidenced by their designation of the first half of the second millennium as the 'Amurrite Age'.⁴

ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM, AND THE AMURRITE 'PROBLEM'

At the root of the issue regarding the ethnicity of the 'Amurrites,' however, are questions about how and what constitutes ethnic solidarity among populations. Giorgio Buccellati, has remarked that discussions of ethnicity in the ancient Near East are:

[O]n the one hand [are] so pervasive that from reading the literature one would conclude it represents a major reality of ancient Near Eastern history; and yet [they are], on the other hand, so vague in its normal acceptance that one wonders at times if it is not simply introduced as a catch-all explanatory mechanism, which loses its power precisely through the diffuseness of its use.⁵

As social scientists have considered the question of ethnicity, some have considered the solidarity of ethnic groups to be primordial, the consequence of common perceptions about identity that reach

³ Charpin and Durand, "La suzeraineté de l'empereur (Sukkalmaḥ) d'Elam," 66.

⁴ Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*; Charpin, "Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite;" followed by Durand, "Peuplement."

⁵ Buccellati, "River Bank, 'High Country,' and 'Pasture Land,'" 89.

back to time immemorial. Others, however, have emphasized the process whereby such solidarity results from specific historical causes; it is created within the embedded contexts of society, politics, and economy.⁶ Those who advocate for elemental forms of solidarity typically emphasize the strength and tenacity of kinship and its resultant practices, while those who accentuate ethnicity's construction often call attention to the generative potential of human actions within their embedded contexts.

In ancient Near Eastern historiography the concept of ethnicity has often reflected the dominant paradigm of historians' own milieu. In the nineteenth century, for example, primordial paradigms of ethnicity were coupled with racialized conceptions, which were ubiquitous in the national politics of Europe and America. Western nationalisms, when combined with the magnificent discoveries of massive Neo-Assyrian palaces, fueled portrayals of the ancient Near East as populated by racialized ethnicities under strongly centralized, despotic monarchies that consistently acted in the best interest of the nation-state. For example, George Rawlinson stated at the outset of his volume on ancient history that "[t]he word 'history'... is attached in modern parlance pre-eminently and especially to accounts of the rise, progress, and affairs of NATIONS..."⁷ He then went on to paint the history of the ancient Near East with a broad stroke, summarizing that,

[I]n the vast plain which extends from the foot of Niphates and Zagros to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean, there is no natural fastnesses; and the race which is numerically or physically superior to the other races... acquires dominion over the entire region.⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century several scholars paused to refute racially charged historiography of the ancient world and to reflect on the nature of ancient ethnic groups. In 1939, while Eu-

⁶ See Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*; Malešević, *The Sociology of Ethnicity*; Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*.

⁷ *A Manual of Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

rope was preparing for war, Thorkild Jacobsen wrote to unmask racial ideologies underlying an alleged *kulturkampf* between the Sumerians and Akkadians in early Syro-Mesopotamian history.⁹ He reinterpreted the early history of the Sumerians and Akkadians not as an instance of civilizational or racial conflict. Rather, for Jacobsen the wars between Lugalzagesi and Sargon were political, motivated by economic factors, among others.¹⁰ While Jacobsen does not use the word ethnicity in his essay, one can infer that he considered both the Sumerian and Akkadian languages to be a cultural instantiation of these ethnic groups.¹¹ Jacobsen's conclusions not only had a profound impact on the study of the cultural interactions in Mesopotamia's earliest history but also blazed a trail for reconsidering ethnicity and its significance for ancient Near Eastern political history. Jacobsen questioned the issue, so prominent in the political discourse of his own day, that ethnicity need not be considered the preeminent factor for explaining political action. Ethnicity and nationalism did not necessarily go hand in hand.

Since Jacobsen, Syro-Mesopotamian treatments of ethnicity have often followed a list-based approach to cultural traits that

⁹ Jacobsen, "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History." The pervasive racialized conceptions of ethnicity in the nineteenth century eerily crescendos in the first half of the twentieth century, most prominently in the ideology of the Third Reich, which infiltrated Assyriological scholarship, particularly that of Wolfram von Soden. Von Soden, for example, published a series of essays that expounded the history and cultural achievements of the ancient Near East in terms of race. (See especially, *Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft* [1936], *Der Aufstieg des Assyrienreichs als geschichtliches Problem* [1937], and *Neue Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung der Indogermanen für den Alten Orient* [1938], which are the subject of a thesis by Jakob Flygare, *Assyriologi under nazismen: En kontekstuell undersøgelse af tre tekster af Wolfram von Soden fra 1936–38*).

¹⁰ Ibid., 495.

¹¹ See also Kraus (*Sumerer und Akkader ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*) many decades later. Similarly, Gelb emphasized ethnicity as a cultural instantiation rather than a purely political one (*Hurrians and Subarians*, v).

were used to identify various ancient people.¹² In anthropology, however, Fredrik Barth began to explore the complexities of ethnicity during the second half of the twentieth century, rejecting list-based efforts to categorize populations. Barth's influential collection of essays entitled *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* raised doubts that a 'list' of cultural traits was a reliable indicator for identifying ethnic groups. First, he insisted that "the ethnic *boundary* defines the group, not the cultural stuff it encloses."¹³ Barth emphasized that the ways in which group identities were forged were not one-sided. Outside forces, in part, created ethnic groups. At the same time, he maintained that "[t]o the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purposes of interaction they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense."¹⁴ In other words, ethnic identity was something that persons were self-aware of and which they recurrently affirmed as well as something others recognized. Thus ethnicity was something that was self-fashioned from the inside, so to speak, and at the same time was subject to boundaries that were imposed by others. As a result, Barth considered ethnic labels to be polyvalent, having different meanings depending on who used it, and therefore the criteria for an ethnic identity could necessarily be encapsulated in a list of essential characteristics.

Barth's nuanced ideas of ethnicity have provided the theoretical starting point for almost all subsequent discussions of ethnicity. Yet Barth's ideas about ethnicity arose from empirical research done while being a participant observer, not from reading ancient records. Thus beyond the theoretical question of how to conceptualize ethnicity, the practical issue of how to recover instances of the collective agency among ethnic groups or examples of ethnogenesis in the distant past looms large. What is clear, however, is that Barth's reflections on ethnicity require that anepigraphic artifacts

¹² Notable exceptions include the work of Kamp and Yoffee, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia;" Yoffee and Emberling, "Thinking about Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Archeology."

¹³ *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

alone are insufficient to give voice to ethnic self-awareness.¹⁵ It is not enough to identify a list of common material culture and correlate this with an ethnic group. Common ceramic repertoires, fortification construction, and burial practices stretch from the middle Euphrates to the eastern delta in Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age. While these features have rightly been described as a *koiné* culture,¹⁶ they are not necessarily a testimony to 'ethnic' waves of populations.¹⁷ The distribution of such cultural artifacts might also be explained as the result of geographic, political, or economic factors. There is no compelling reason for them to be interpreted as evidence of an ethnic group.

If Barth's theoretical considerations are taken seriously, it is essential that epigraphic sources offer insight into the self-conscious identity of a given group known as 'Amurrites' and testify to outsider perspectives on this group. Numerous hypotheses have been advanced about the Amurrites' origins, cultural influences, migrations, and political significance for Syro-Mesopotamian history. And perhaps no texts have proved as central to so many of these discussions as those recovered from Mari. What follows, therefore, is a review of the salient evidence regarding the designation *amurrum*/MAR.TU from the sources at Mari as well as from contemporary corpora. As will become clear, Barth's focus on both insider and outsider perspectives of ethnic groups can be satisfied only in part by the sources from Mari. The terms (MAR.TU and *amurrum*) are solely the perspective of outsiders and, therefore, "carr[y] a subtle trap, always twisting our understanding toward a southern Mesopotamian perspective..."¹⁸ Evidence of a subjective sense of Amurrite ethnic self-awareness, or an insider-perspective

¹⁵ See, for example, Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity* 109–110.

¹⁶ Burke, *Walled up to Heaven*; see also Guichard, *La vaisselle de luxe des rois mari*, 165 (and the bibliography there).

¹⁷ See especially the work of Anne Porter, "You Say Potato, I Say...", which complicates any discussion of 'waves' of ethnic Amurrites through her reevaluation of the transitional Early Bronze Age–Middle Bronze Age ceramics from several Syrian sites.

¹⁸ Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 39; see also, Fleming, *Legacy*, chapter 13.

on being Amurrite, as well as indications of collective Amurrite political decision-making is altogether absent; as a result, it must be concluded that ‘Amurrite ethnicity’ was not a significant political force during the reign of Zimri-Lim.

The very meaning of the word *amurru*, ‘westerner,’ associates it most closely with the perspective of outsiders. And while it is clear that the word *amurru* did refer to a specific land, *māt amurrim*,¹⁹ a certain denotation is difficult to identify in other uses of *amurru*.²⁰ A starting point for understanding the term *amurru* is the reference found in the partially published letter A.489. In this missive Zimri-Lim is called the “king of Akkadians and Amurrites” (LUGAL *ak-ka-d[i-i]m ù a-m[u-u]r-ri-im*).²¹ What is clear is that whatever the word *amurru* designated, it was different from *akkadum*. Yet it is frustrating, however, that this title is given without elaboration. Furthermore, in context, the strong ideological bent of the author of the letter suggests that this designation of *amurru* may owe more to the discursive traditions of southern Mesopotamian kingship rather than to any correspondence with the socio-cultural reality during Zimri-Lim’s reign. The author, Ripi’i-Dagan, wrote this letter during the tumultuous opening months of Zimri-Lim’s reign to compel fidelity from an unknown recipient. He evoked propagandistic themes, echoing the language of royal inscriptions, as he recounted Zimri-Lim’s accession to power. He exclaimed:

My lord [Zimri-Lim] accomplished the defeat of Ishme-Dagan and expelled Yasmah-Addu... By the command of Dagan and Itur-Mer my lord accomplished the defeat of his enemies. He turned his cities into tells and ruins.²²

¹⁹ A.2730: 34 (cited in Durand, “Peuplement, 120).

²⁰ It should be added, as Michalowski has noted, that the MAR.TU of the Ur III period were not always even restricted to the western reaches of Syria (Michalowski, *The Correspondences of the Kings of Ur*, 94).

²¹ Cited in Durand, “Unité et diversités,” 113 n. 37.

²² 2”) [*i-nu-ma be-lī* 3”) *da-am-ri-da-am ša i-š-me-^dda-gan i-du-ku* 4”) ù *ia-ās-ma-ab-^dIM i-na ma-r^{k1} ū-še-šūt-[ū]* 5”) ù *i-nu-ma DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na it-ti be-lī-ia i-ke-ki-ru* 6”) [*a-na ša-bi-im na-da-nim be-lī i-š-pu-ra-ku-nu-š-im-ma* 7”) [*a-na be-lī-ia ša-ba-am ū-ul ta-ad-di-na-ma* 8”) *i-na qī-bi-it ^dda-gan ù ^di-tūr-me-er* 9”)

The tenor of this missive suggests that Ripi'i-Dagan understood Zimri-Lim to be the "king of Akkadians and Amurrites" in the discursive and outsider sense of the term that had developed during the third millennium. That is, Ripi'i-Dagan likely used the term *amurru* without clear reference to specific populations but as a reference to a cultural 'other' that was rooted in southern Mesopotamian political traditions of the Ur III period.

From the perspective of Ur III scribes, the 'otherness' of the so-called Amurrites was, at times, a stereotype of populations that practiced mobile pastoralism. This is clear, for example, from the famous myth of the *Marriage of Martu*. In this myth, the god Martu, while rich and heroic, is derided by his bride's Sumerian friends as being,

A tent-dweller, [buffeted] by wind and rain, [who offers no] prayer. He who dwells in the mountains, [knows not] the places [of the gods]. A man who digs up mushrooms at the foot of the mountain, who knows not submission. He eats uncooked meat, in his lifetime has not house. When he dies, he will not be buried.²³

This is not to say that the Amurrites of the Ur III period were always, or even typically, considered to have been pastoralists,²⁴ but it is difficult to deny that the occasional ideological connection of Amurrites with mobile pastoralist populations has roots in the centuries prior to the second millennium. Thus it may well be that the juxtaposition of *akkadum* and *amurru* in the titlature applied to

be-lí da-am₇-da-am ša na-ak-ri-šu i-du-uk-ma a-la-ni-šu 10) a-na ti-li-im ù ka-ar-mi-im ú-te-er ú ka-m[a]-ri-šu-nu iš-ta-ak-ka-an-ma* (cited in Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir" 323 n.131; see also *ARM(T)* 26/1 186 and Durand, "Peuplement," 116 n. 21 and 186 n. 413).

²³ Translation is that of Klein, "The God Martu in Sumerian Literature," 116.

²⁴ See Michalowski (*The Correspondences of the Kings of Ur*, 90), who provides helpful caveats on this text and the perspective on the MAR.TU in the Ur III texts. As it concerns the god Martu, he is arguably not a reification of Amurrite populations as much as he is a creation of the Ur III scribal schools (Beaulieu, "The God Amurru").

Zimri-Lim by Ripi'i-Dagan was describing the former's sovereignty in terms of populations' subsistence strategies.

Furthermore, a second letter, *ARM* 6.76, buttresses the interpretation of *amurru* in Zimri-Lim's title as a stereotype for mobile pastoralist populations. In this missive Zimri-Lim is again called the king of the Akkadians, but this time *akkadum* is juxtaposed with *ḥanūm* ('mobile pastoralist'):

It is true (that) while in the camp of Appan, I spoke to my lord, saying: "Today the land of the Yamina is given into your hand! Now this land [x x x]. Let my lord dignify the capital of his kinship! Just as you are the king of the pastoralists, additionally you are the king of the Akkadians! (Thus) my lord should not ride on a horse, but let my lord ride on a *nūbalum*-carriage and a mule, so that he may dignify the capital of his kingship." This is what I spoke to my lord.²⁵

This letter from Bahdi-Lim, a governor of Mari, provides further insight into the appellative *amurru*. Durand's clever interpretation of this missive is that Bahdi-Lim wrote to the king so that he could avoid the *faux pas* of following the Akkadian tradition of merely riding on a mule (*imērum*) and not on a *nūbalum*. According to Durand, then, it was an alternate tradition, an 'Amurrite tradition,' in which kings used a *nūbalum* (although neither made use of horses [*sistū*] for such occasions). Bahdi-Lim wrote to Zimri-Lim to urge him to carefully communicate his kingship to his subjects. If Durand's interpretation is correct, what is most striking about *ARM* 6.76 is that the Akkadians are contrasted not with Amurrites but with the *ḥanūm* or 'mobile pastoralists.' This juxtaposition of pastoralists and Akkadians suggests that the coupling of Amurrite and

²⁵ *ARM* 6.76: 11) [lu-ú i]t-tum i-nu-ma 12) [i-na ka-ra-áš ap]-pa-an^{K1} 13) [a-na be-lí-ia k]i-a-am aq-[b]i 14) [um-ma a-ka-ku]-ma 15) [u₄-ma-am mā]-a-at i[a-mi-n]a^{K1} 16) [a-na qa-ti-k]a n[a-ad-na-at] 17) [ù mā]-a-tum šī-i š[ú-ba-a]t 18) [ak-k]a-di-im-ma ḥu-l[u-pa]-at 19) [be-lí q]a-qa-ad šar-ru-ti-š[u] i-ka-bi-ūt 20) [ki-ma] LUGAL ḥa-na.MEŠ at-ta 21) [ù š]a-ni-iš LUGAL ak-ka-di-im at-ta 22) [be-lí] i-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĤÁ la i-ra-ka-ab 23) [i-na ^{G1}šnu-ba-lim ù ANŠE.ĤÁ ku-da-ni-mi 24) [b]e-[l]i i-ir-ka-am-ma qa-qa-ad šar-ru-ti-šu 25) li-ka-bi-it an-ni-tim a-na be-lí-ia ad-bu-bu (collations in Durand, *LAPO* 17 732).

Akkadians in A.489 may also evoke the same dichotomy, in which the designation Amurrite was used as a stereotype for 'mobile pastoralists,' as was also occasionally the case in the Ur III period.

The Mari evidence preserves a sense of Amurrite 'otherness' from the perspective of southern Mesopotamia that may offer some hope for identifying cultural traits that define Amurrite ethnic identity. The problem, however, is that there are no subjective self-identifications of what it meant to be 'Amurrite.' To be sure, the word *amurru* is used in less politically charged contexts as a descriptor for various commodities, such as animals (*ARM* 9.242), wool (*ARM* 21.220), and figs (*FM* 7.26);²⁶ but this qualification should not be too quickly assumed to be an ethnicon. As a result, due caution is required before using these textual data as lenses for interpreting the *koiné* Middle Bronze age anepigraphic artifacts²⁷ as cultural traits that help define an Amurrite ethnic group. In fact even the most discrete cultural feature of Amurrite ethnicity—Amurrite language—may have been comprised of many dialects of a West-Semitic language group. This reality seems to be reflected in the need for Numha men from Kurda, who likely spoke an Amurrite dialect, to have a translator when they arrived at Mari (*ARM* 27.116). This is not to say that Amurrite was not a linguistic reality during the second millennium,²⁸ but that the sufficiently complex and dynamic situation cannot be adequately accounted for by reifying the extant textual data.

REINTERPRETING ZIMRI-LIM'S WAR WITH ELAM

Having cast doubt on the conclusion that Amurrite ethnic solidarity was a significant social reality during the reign of Zimri-Lim, I will now turn to the more specific question of whether or not a sense of Amurriteness played any role in the political happenings surrounding the war with Elam. To do this requires a close reading of one letter in particular, A.3080. This letter is important not only

²⁶ For additional examples, see Sasson "Mari and the Bible," 121–23.

²⁷ See, for example, Sasson "Mari and the Bible," 121–123; Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 39; see also, Fleming, *Legacy*, chapter 13.

²⁸ Charpin and Ziegler, "Amurritisch Lernen," esp. 75–7.

for the case made by Charpin and Durand introduced above but also for the reinterpretation of Zimri-Lim's war with Elam. Before treating A.3080, therefore, it is necessary to set the historical context for this missive during the course of the war with Elam. In the discussion of this letter, it will become clear that in one sense Charpin and Durand are correct. That is, they are right in their assessment that the events of ZL 10–11 posed a crisis that wrought deep change in the socio-political landscape of the Amurrite age. At the same time, I will suggest that the significant change was not the formation of an ethnic boundary between Amurrites and Elamites. The ethnic distinction between Amurrite and Elamite was insignificant to the political events of ZL 10–11. There was no self-conscious sense of Amurrite identity that animated the political actions of Zimri-Lim or his allies. Rather, the Elamites' advance into Syro-Mesopotamia disrupted Zimri-Lim's tribal alliances, especially with the Yamut-bal. This forced the Mariote king to turn to other potential allies to protect his foreign interests. Yet because Zimri-Lim was unable to fully rehabilitate his connections with the Yamut-bal tribe, he was left at a political disadvantage on the international scene. Moreover, the longer-term consequences of this war left Zimri-Lim dramatically weakened, which ultimately made him vulnerable to the advance of Hammu-rabi of Babylon only two and a half years later.

Simal Tribal networks and the war with Elam

In ZL 9 Elam, Babylon, and Mari had laid siege to and had captured Eshnunna at the request of the Elamite Sukkal. Then, following the capture of Eshnunna, in the first months of ZL 10,²⁹ a flurry of international correspondences were sent back and forth between several of the most powerful sovereigns of the period. These letters indicated that the fervor of war had not abated with a victory over Eshnunna. Rather, in the immediate aftermath of the successful siege of Eshnunna, Yarim-Addu, a Mariote representative in

²⁹ The war against Eshnunna began in ZL 8, but the end of the siege and capture of the city remains unknown. For an evaluation of possible reconstructions, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 213.

Babylon, reported to Zimri-Lim that the Sukkal had sent communication to Hammu-rabi (of Babylon), saying:

I have set my face toward Larsa. Secure [your] regulars, the corvée troops and your servants whom I saw in Eshnunna, so that they are ready to meet me. If I see one man being obstinate, (then) I will turn on you.

And at the same time, Yarim-Addu also recounted that the Sukkal not only threatened to attack Rim-Sin but also dispatched the very same letter to Rim-Sin of Larsa, saying:

Just as the Sukkal of Elam wrote to Hammu-rabi (of Babylon), he wrote to Rim-Sin, "I have set my face toward Babylon. Secure [your] regulars, the corvée troops and your servants. They must be ready! If I hear of (even) one man being obstinate, I will turn against you!"³⁰

The defeat of Eshnunna did not yield amity among the major states of the Amurrite age, for the Elam sovereign had turned his sights to the south.

The Elamite's attempts at subterfuge in southern Mesopotamia failed. The Sukkal's duplicity toward his former allies was discovered by Rim-Sin and Hammu-rabi, and the two Mesopotamian kings began to exchange intelligence with one another in prepara-

³⁰ ARM 26.362: 5) *a-na la-ar-sa*^{KI} {*pa-nam ša-ak-na-ku ša*}-[*ba-ka bé-e*]*h-ra-am* 6) *ša-ab tu-up-ši-ik-ka-nim ù ÌR-di.MEŠ-ka* 7) *ša i-na èš-nun-na*^{KI} *a-mu-ru ki-i-in-ma a-na pa-ni-ia* 8) *re-ša-am li-ki-il-lu i-na ša-bi-im ša a-mu-ru* 9) 1 LÚ *ip-pa-ra-ka-ma a-na še-ri-ka-ma* 10) *pa-nam ú-sa-ab-<ha>-ra-am*. . . . 15) *ù ki-ma ša SUKKAL ELAM.MA-tim* 16) *a-na š[e-er] ha-a[m-m]u-ra-bi iš-pu-ra-am* 17) *a-n[a še]-er ri-im*^{dSU.EN} *ki-a-am iš-pu-ur um-ma šu-ma* 18) *a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA*^{KI} *p[a]-nam ša-ak-na-ku* 19) *ša-ba-ka bé-e**h-ra-am ša-ab tu-up-ši-ik-ka-nim* 20) *ù ÌR-di.MEŠ-ka ták-lu-tim ki-i-in-ma* 21) *re-ša-am li-ki-il-[lu]* 22) *i-na ša-bi-ka ša eš-te-ne-mu-[ú 1 LÚ ip]-pa-ra-ku-ma* 23) *a-na še-ri-ka-ma pa-nam ú-sa-ab-ha-ra-am*. For *tupšikkānum*, see Charpin's comments in ARM(T) 26/2, 164, where he indicates their probable association with siege warfare.

tion for a possible Elamite attack.³¹ Yarim-Addu reported that “A vizier of Rim-Sin is staying with Hammu-rabi (and) news of Rim-Sin regularly comes to Hammu-rabi, (while) news of Hammu-rabi regularly goes to Rim-Sin.” Yarim-Addu relayed this turn of events that included Babylon, Larsa, and the Elamites to Zimri-Lim, who was away from Mari, in the western kingdom of Yamhad. He informed the Mariote king that he, as the king’s diplomat in Babylon, was trying not to choose sides. Zimri-Lim had long been a vassal of the Elamites and, at the same time, had enjoyed amicable relations with Hammu-rabi of Babylon. Thus Yarim-Addu reported to Zimri-Lim that while he was remaining in Hammu-rabi’s court, he continued to show deference to the Sukkal’s envoys when they arrived at the palace in Babylon, “... asking for the well-being of the Sukkal of Elam.”³² During the opening months of ZL 10, then, while Zimri-Lim was away from his capital, Babylon and Larsa were working together to thwart an Elamite ruse whereas Zimri-Lim was struggling to maintain his status as *persona grata* with both Elam and Babylon.

Elam’s conflict with Babylon escalated when the Elamite troops captured the city of Mankisum along the Tigris River. Yassi-Dagan, a military commander who had overseen the Mariote troops at Eshnunna, was privy to the unraveling of the Elamite-

³¹ Yarim-Addu reported that Rim-Sin initially indicated he would support Hammu-rabi’s efforts against Elam: “Rim-Sin wrote to Hammu-rabi, saying: ‘My troops are assembled in my land and your troops are indeed assembled in your land. If the enemy goes against you, then my troops and boats will arrive to (help) you. But if the enemy has come against me, then your troops and your boats will arrive to (help) me.’” (ARM 26.367: 9) *ṛi-im-dSU.EN a-na še-er ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi* 10) *ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi* 11) *ša-bi i-na ma-ti-ia pa-ḥi-ir* 12) *ù ṣa-bu-ka i-na ma-ti-[ka]* 13) *lu-ú pa-ḥi-ir* 14) *šum-ma LÚ.KÚR a-na še-ri-ka* 15) *pa-nam iš-ta-ak-ka-nam* 16) *ša-bi ù* ^{GIŠ}*MÁ.TUR.Ḫ[Á]* *i-ka-aš-ša-da-ak-ka* 17) *ù šum-ma LÚ.KÚR a-na še-ri-ia* 18) *pa-nam iš-ta-ak-ka-nam* 19) *ša-bu-ka ù* ^{GIŠ}*MÁ.TUR.ḪÁ-ka* 20) *li-ik-šu-da-an-ni*).

³² ARM 26.362: 36) *ṛe-em ri-im-dSU.EN a-na še-er ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi sa-di-ir* 37) *ù ṛe-em ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi a-na še-er ri-im-dSU.EN sa-di-ir...* 42) *šu-lum SUKKAL ELAM-tim a-ša-a-al*.

Babylonian relations. He reported a hostile ultimatum sent from the Sukkal of Elam to Hammu-rabi of Babylon:

The Sukkal wrote the following to Hammu-rabi, saying: "Atamrum was chosen (to rule Eshnunna). While I am here, finish your tasks! (As for) the villages of Eshnunna that you are holding, are they not mine? Release them and place your neck under my yoke! Otherwise, I will pillage your land over and over again. The troops will leave from Mankisum, and will cross (the Tigris river) at (that) place. Now I will cross over before my troops and I will plunder your land." This is what the Sukkal wrote to Hammu-rabi. The copy of the tablet, which he sent to him, has come to Atamrum, the commander of the troops, and to me.³³

From Yassi-Dagan's report it seems that the Elamite contention with Babylon was over the spoils of the war with Eshnunna. Hammu-rabi had captured the territories of Mankisum and Upi in the course of the war against Eshnunna³⁴ and according to Yassi-Dagan, the Sukkal had insisted they be returned. Hammu-rabi's response, however, must not have been acceptable, for Elam opted to advance against Mankisum in ZL 10.

Meanwhile in the upper Jezira, Atamrum had come to lead the troops of Eshnunna, which agitated local authorities in the Habur

³³A.3618: 19') LÚ.SUKKAL a-na ḥa-mu-ra-bi 20') ki-a-am iš-pu-ur um-ma-a-mi a-tam-<rum> na-si-iq a-di wa-aš-ba-ku 21') a-wa-ti-ka gu-mu-ur a-la-nu ša èš-nun-na^{K1} ša tu-ka-al-lu 22') ú-ul ú-yu-ut-tu-un wa-aš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti ù ki-ša-ad-ka 23') a-na ni-ri-ia šu-ri-ib ú-la-šu-ma ma-a-at-ka 24') aḥ-ta-na-bi-it iš-tu ma-an-ki-si^{K1} ša-bu-um i-ša-ba-tam 25') aš-ra-nu-um-ma i-ib-bi-ra-am ù a-na pa-an um-[ma-na-ti-ia] 26') e-eb-bi-ir-ma a-na ma-ti-ka aḥ-ḥa-ba-at 27') an-ni-tam LÚ.SUKKAL a-na ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi iš-pu-r[a-am] 28') ma-ḥe-er tuḫ-pi-im ú-ša-bi-lu-šum a-na a-tam-ri-im 29') LÚ.MEŠ ša-pi-ru-ut ša-bi-im ù a-na še-ri-ia 30') il-lī-ka-m (cited in Charpin, "Hammurabi de Babylone et Mari", 122 n.37); see also A.405 below.

³⁴A.2242 cited in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 212, n. 392 helps to establish the relative chronology of the capture of Mankisum by Babylon.

triangle.³⁵ From Eshnunna, Atamrum immediately pressed north and laid siege to Razama of Yussan, in the vicinity of the Sinjar.³⁶ Zimri-Lim, who was still absent from Mari and on his journey in western Syria until the fifth month of ZL 10, remained obsequious toward Elam. There is, in fact, no clear indication during the first three months of ZL 10 that Zimri-Lim would side against Elam in the second half of the year. To the contrary, just as Yarim-Addu delicately balanced his relationship with the Babylonian court and the Elamite envoys in Babylon, so Zimri-Lim continued to negotiate relations with Babylon and Elam, even sending gifts to the Sukkal from Aleppo in the fourth month of ZL 10, while he prepared to campaign against Razama.

The events in the Habur quickly escalated to a crisis. Zimri-Lim's allies in the region were disappearing. Sammetar, king of Ashnakkum, and Shub-Ram, king of Qirdahat, had been overthrown. Ibal-Addu reveals that at this time Sammetar had been handed over to the Elamites, and Shub-Ram had been driven from his palace, which was then plundered.³⁷ And most importantly, in the nearby Sinjar Zimri-Lim's closest ally, the Yamut-bal king at Andarig, was forced to take flight from his capital city. The king of Andarig, Qarni-Lim, seems to have tried to find refuge in Mari, but *en route* was caught and decapitated.³⁸

Mariote deliberations in response to the events in the Habur-triangle are preserved in part in a letter from Ibal-El, a Simal

³⁵ The precise nature of Atamrum's connections with Elam and Eshnunna at this moment is not clear (see the remarks and bibliography in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 214 n. 403).

³⁶ See Wäfler, *Tall al-Hamidiya* 3, 146–7.

³⁷ A.3194 ll. 14–16; 20–21. Cited in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 222 n. 484 and in Guichard, “Les aspects religieux de la guerre,” 28–9; see also the allusion to these events in ARM 26.303.

³⁸ Charpin offers the following reconstruction: “[Qarnī-Līm] réussit à prendre la fuite, et voulut se réfugier dans le royaume de Zimrī-Līm quel il était uni par des liens du sang (A.2730 : 14, ARMT XXVI p. 33 n. 24). Il aurait été assassiné en route : seuls parvinrent dans le royaume de Mari les rescapé de sa famille, ses domestiques, ses ânes ... et sa tête.” (“Une decollation mystérieuse”).

merḫūm-leader. This letter, which Ibal-El sent to Zimri-Lim, has been highlighted by Durand for its contribution to our understanding of pastoralism, in particular its insights into the traditional pastoral routes (*nighum*) of the Yamina and Simal.³⁹ At the same time, it also reveals the reasons why the Simal king and his primary constituents, the Simal pastoralists who traversed the Habur triangle, were so concerned about the siege of Razama. Ibal-El, the *merḫūm*-leader, wrote to Zimri-Lim about Atamrum's attack against Razama and advised the king how to respond:

Now concerning the land of Ida-Maras, about which he [Atamrum] wrote to you saying, "Withdraw!" You should answer him, saying: "Just as the land of Yamhad, the land of Qatna and the land of Amurru are the traditional pastoral route (*nighum*) of the Yamina and in that land the Yamina are sated with grain and they graze their pastures, likewise, from the distant past, Ida-Maras is the traditional pastoral route (*nighum*) of the (Simal) *ḥanūm*. Why have the people of Ida-Maras committed an offense against the (Simal) *ḥanūm*? They have taken the lives of the people under my sovereignty! They have led away as plunder, young men and women, my daughters-in-laws and my servants! They have struck the sheep, cattle, donkeys, and livestock of my land! Have I wronged him in any way or set fire to his grain? It is—and has (always) been—my traditional pastoral route! Why has it committed an offense (against me)?" Let my lord answer with this and more of those things that my lord knows about.⁴⁰

³⁹ Durand, "Peuplement," 120–1; also chapter 3, above.

⁴⁰ A.2730: 30) *ù aš-šum ma-at i-da-ma-ra-aš*^{K1} 31) *ša iš-pu-ra-ka-um um-ma-mi i-na ma-tim še-ti* 32) *du-up-pi-ir ke-em a-pu-ul-šu um-ma at-ta-ma* 33) *kei-ma ma-at ia-am-ḥa-ad*^{K1} *ma-at qa-tá-nim*^{K1} 34) *ù ma-at a-mu-ri-im*^{K1} *ni-ig-ḥu-um* 35) *ša DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na ù i-na ma-tim še-ti* 36) *DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na še-em i-ša-bi-i ù na-wu-šu-nu i-re-i-em* 37) *ù iš-tu da-ar-ka-tim ni-ig-ḥu-um* 38) *ša ḥa-na.MEŠ i-da-ma-ra-aš a-na i-da-ma-ra-aš* 39) *ḥa-na.MEŠ mi-na-am ú-ga-al-li-il* 40) *du-mu-uq ḥa-na.MEŠ ša i-da-ma-ra-aš-ma* 41) *am-mi-nim-ma LÚ i-da-ma-ra-aš gu-ul-lu-ul-/tam* 42) *a-na ḥa-na.MEŠ ir-ši-ma LÚ.MEŠ ša-pí-{X}-ṭi-ia* 43) *n[a-p]i-iš₁₅-tam i-du-uk* DUMU.NITA *ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ* 44) *ka-al-la*

In A.2730, Ibal-El reflected on the military efforts against Eshnunna during the preceding months. He counseled Zimri-Lim how to deal with Atamrum's provocation and especially how to respond to his ultimatum that the Simal *ḫanūm* evacuate the land of Ida-Maras. His advice to Zimri-Lim reveals the Simal tribe's assessment of the situation in the Habur triangle as well as the rationale for the subsequent action taken by the Mariote king. Ibal-El rejoined Atamrum's contention that Zimri-Lim should withdraw from the land of Ida-Maras with an insistence that the Simal had a traditional claim (*ištu darkatim*) to the land of Ida-Maras. For Ibal-El, the idea that Zimri-Lim should leave the land of Ida-Maras was absurd. The Simal would no sooner be removed from Ida-Maras, which was their traditional pastoral route (*nighum*),⁴¹ than the Yamina should be expected to vacate their traditional pastoral route. He compared the land of Ida-Maras with the territories the Yamina currently had access to in the west, and he insisted that the Simal *ḫanūm* had every right to continue to traverse Ida-Maras, too. Turning the tables on Atamrum, he added that it was Atamrum's presence in the Habur that posed a problem and had offended the Simal tribe. Ibal-El's argument revealed not only the rationale for Simal interest in the land of Ida-Maras but also what the Simal perceived to be the consequences of Atamrum's aggression: the threat it posed to the mobile pastoralist groups in the region. Throughout his reign, Zimri-Lim had maintained his authority in the Habur triangle through the presence of Simal mobile pastoralists, but now Zimri-Lim's influence in this region was in jeopardy.⁴²

tī-ia ù ÌR-di-ia 45) *ša-al-lu-tam ú-ša-li-ik* UDU.ĤÁ 46) GU₄.ĤÁ ù ANŠE.ĤÁ
bu-lum ša ma-ti-ia 47) *il-pa-at mi-im-ma ú-ḫa-at-ti-šum ú-lu-ma še-šu / aq-lu* 48)
ni-ig-ḫi iš-tu pa-na šu-ú am-mi-nim ú-ga-li-lam 49) *an-ni-tam ù ma-da-tim-ma ša i-*
na qa-at be-lī-ia 50) *i-ba-aš-še-e be-lī li-pu-ul* (ll. 1-29 are published in ARM(T)
 26/2, 33 n. 24; ll. 30-50 are published in Durand, "Peuplement," 120-1).

⁴¹ See Durand, "Peuplement," 120-1.

⁴² For the mention of *ḫipšum* with the populations of Ida-Maras, see FM 6.6 (though, the specific tribal identities of the sedentary populations of Ida-Maras are unclear). For *ḫipšum* as one means whereby Zimri-Lim conducted foreign policy among tribal groups in the upper Jezira, see chapter four.

That the Elamite offensive in the Habur triangle instigated a crisis for Zimri-Lim's inter-tribal relations, in particular, is witnessed in A.3080. This letter is important for the description of Zimri-Lim's faltering control of the upper Jezira and it is a key datum for the claim that Elamite military activities in ZL 10–11 catalyzed an Amurrite nationalism. An Uprapean Yaminite leader from the district of Terqa sent A.3080 to Zimri-Lim. He wrote:

Speak to my lord! Thus says Hammi-ishtamar, your servant: I heard the tablet that you sent to me. My lord wrote concerning the troops, (and) all of the troops are readied. Now my lord has drafted a long tablet and sent it to me. "The god will not lead the villains, (our) enemy, to the banks of the Euphrates! Now may your god and Dagan, lord of the land, break the weapon of the Elamites! If, (however), they do, indeed, arrive at the banks of the Euphrates, (then) they will not make distinctions, as (there are between) the termites of the riverbank of which it can be said that one (is) white and the (other) one black! Will they say thus, 'this city is Simal and this city is Yamina?' They will not make comparisons, just as the floodwaters of the river (which move) from up(stream) to down(stream)." Why, (then), has my lord written this letter? (Is it) because I have not arrived before my lord? I am not aggravated with my lord; (rather) my lord should know that the *sugāgu* and pastoralists are dwelling with me at Samanum and, moreover, it has been the case for some time that they were not able to meet up with their brothers who live in the city. While dwelling (at Samanum), it was a long stretch of days until they settled (things). (Thus it is not that) I am aggravated with my lord. On the second day after this tablet, I will arrive before my lord.⁴³

⁴³ A.3080: 1) *a-na be-lī-ia* 2) *qī-bī-ma* 3) *um-ma ḥa-am-mi-iš-ta-mar* 4) *İR.ka-a-ma ṭup-pa-ka ša tu-<ša>-bi-lam eš-me* 5) *be-lī aš-šum ša-bi-im iš-pu-ra-am* 6) *ša-bu-um ka-lu-šu ka-mi-is* 7) *ù be-lī ṭup-pa-am ú-ur-ri-ik-ma* 8) *ú-ša-bi-la-am* *AN-lum le-em-na-am* 9) *ù a-ia-ba-am a-na a-aḥ pu-ra-tim* *ù GIŠ.TUKUL LÚ.ELAM.MA.MEŠ* 11) *AN-ka ù da-gan be-el ma-tim* 12) *li-iš-bi-ir šum-ma a-na a-aḥ pu-[r]a-tim* 13) *a-la-ku-um-ma i-la-ku-nim* 14) *ú-ul ki-ma ri-im-ma-tim*

As Hammi-ishtamar indicated at the outset of his letter, he was responding to a previous communiqué that had been sent to him by Zimri-Lim. Hammi-ishtamar's reply reveals that the king had sent a long letter (*urrukum*) to him about preparing the Yamina troops for a possible confrontation with the Elamites. Moreover, Hammi-ishtamar sensed that the king was concerned about this matter because Hammi-ishtamar himself had not yet returned to the king with any news (ll. 26–7). In light of the fact that Zimri-Lim perceived Hammi-ishtamar's response to be overdue, A.3080 includes, first, an explanation for his tardiness, which he suggested was due to the *sugūm* leaders having taken a long time (*urrukum*) to meet up with their colleagues as well as, second, a reassurance to the king that the troops were ready to confront the Elamites, if need be.

The vivid images in ll. 11–2 of Hammi-ishtamar's missive are crucial for determining if the war with Elam catalyzed either 'Amurriteness' ethnogenesis or incited a nationalist response. Durand initially maintained that these images were a continuation of Hammi-ishtamar's report to Zimri-Lim. At the same time, the tentative nature of this interpretation by Durand was betrayed in the *editio princeps*, where he remarked on the form *kēmmi* (l. 17) that, "[c]ette forme *kēm-mi* est inattestée ailleurs à Mari. Le *-mi* me paraît difficile à expliquer car l'on ne se trouve pas dans une citation de discours."⁴⁴ Moshe Anbar, however, provided an instructive reassessment of the form *kēmmi*, proposing that lines 11–24 formed a

15) *ša ki-ša-di-im ša iš-te-et* 16) *pé-šé-et ù iš-te-et* 17) *ša-ar-ma-at uš-ta-pa-ra-sír*
 18) *ke-em-mi i-qa-ab-bu-ú* 19) *um-ma-a-mi a-lum an-nu-um* 20) DUMU *si-im-a-al*
 21) *ù a-lum an-nu-um* DUMU *ia-mi-na* 22) *ú-ul ki-ma mi-lí-im ša na-ri-im* 23) *ša e-le-im a-na ša-ap-[lim]* 24) *uš-ta-ma-ḫa-ru* 25) *be-lí a-na [mi-nim]* 26) *an-ni-tam iš-pu-ra-am* 27) *aš-šum a-na-ku a-na še-er be-lí-ia* 28) *ú-ul ak-šu-dam be-lí li-ib-ba-ti-ia* 29) *la i-ma-al-la be-lí i-de* 30) *ki-ma LÚ.MEŠ su-ga-gu ù LÚ.ḫa-na.MEŠ* 31) *it-ti-ia i-na sa-ma-nim^{K1} wa-aš-bu* 32) *ù i-na qa-at iš-tu u₄-mi ma-du-tim* 33) *it-ti a-ab-ḫi-šu-nu wa-aš-bu-ut a-lim* 34) *ú-ul in-na-am-ru* 35) *u₄-mi-šu-nu i-na wa-aš-bi-im ú-ur-ri-ku* 36) *a-di a-pa-ab-šu-nu-ti be-lí li-ib-ba-ti-ia* 37) *[A i-ma-al-la* 38) *wa-ar-ki ṭup-ptí-ia an-ni-im* 39) *i-na ša-ni-im u₄-mi-im* 40) *a-na še-er be-lí-ia* 41) *a-ka-aš-ša-dam*.

⁴⁴ Durand, "Fourmis blanche," 104 n. 11.

quotation from a letter Zimri-Lim had written to Hammi-ishtamar. Thus Anbar's suggestion felicitously solves this difficult form *kêmmi*. Additionally, Anbar's solution provides a more coherent interpretation of Hammi-ishtamar's missive. In particular, it explains what would otherwise be an abrupt and out of place interjection by Hammi-ishtamar in ll 24–5: "Why, [then], has my lord written this letter?"⁴⁵ Yet Hammi-ishtamar's statement, as Anbar has correctly suggested, is a response to Zimri-Lim's original inquiry that is quoted in the previous lines.

Following Anbar, then, and taking ll. 11–24 as a quotation of Zimri-Lim, a relative chronology of events during ZL 10 can be reconstructed around the happenings recounted by Hammi-ishtamar in A.3080. In Zimri-Lim's letter, which prompted the writing of A.3080, the Mariote king was anxiously pressuring Hammi-ishtamar to prepare for battle with the Elamites, who were perceived to be an imminent threat. Thus it implicitly acknowledged the Elamite presence in the Habur. Furthermore, that Zimri-Lim wrote to Hammi-ishtamar suggests that the king was back in residence at Mari, having returned from his travels in the west since he would have otherwise sent his instructions to Bahdi-Lim, who coordinated matters at Mari in the king's absence. Thus Zimri-Lim's return from Yamhad in the fifth month of ZL 10 provides a *terminus post quem* for A.3080.

With this *terminus post quem*, A.3080 may be further contextualized within the known sequences of events in the upper Jezira. In particular, the context for A.3080 is after the Elamite general, Kunnam, had captured Shubat-Enlil.⁴⁶ The Elamite general, Kunnam, had advanced as far as Shubat-Enlil, where he stayed on as a regional authority and pressured local kings to ally themselves with

⁴⁵ Anbar, "נבואות בריתות וישבטים בתעודות מארי," וועלה על כל אפיקיך; "Les tromperies d'Elam et d'Ešnunna;" cf. Durand, "Fourmis blanche;" *Les document épistolaires* 17, 488–91.

⁴⁶ This event transpired while Zimri-Lim was in the kingdom of Yamhad, since Bahdi-Lim, the governor at Mari, wrote to the king to inform him of Kunnam's actions. E.g. ARM 6.66 (and collations by Durand LAPO 17 550).

the Elamite Sukkal.⁴⁷ Zimri-Lim's challenge upon his return to Mari, therefore, was to quell the widespread unrest among kings in the Habur triangle, which had been caused by the increasingly ensconced Elamite presence. This Elamite presence forced Zimri-Lim to deal with the fact that even his longest-standing allies to that point, such as Haya-Sumu, were questioning the Mariote king's ability to exert his authority in the region.

With the situation in the Habur devolving, it is easy to understand the sharp and anxious tone of Zimri-Lim's message quoted in A.3080. The king was concerned about the potential Yaminite response to the Elamite offensive. That is, the turmoil in the Habur no doubt evoked the event from five years earlier, when the Mariote king had fought a two-front war against Eshnunna in the Habur triangle and against the Yamina in the three central districts of Zimri-Lim's state (Saggaratum, Terqa, and Mari). The Elamite offensive in ZL 10 held the potential to incite another Yamina revolt and open a second front in the war, and this is reflected in Zimri-Lim's tenor and urgent concern about the Yamina troops in A.3080. This letter, then, most likely dates to a moment after the fifth month of ZL 10, but before the eighth month of that same year, when Zimri-Lim concluded a treaty with Hammu-rabi of Babylon against Elam. At this later date, the focus of the anti-Elamite coalition shifted to the south and the Yaminite response to the Elamites was less critical. And certainly, at the latest A.3080 cannot be situated after the tenth month of ZL 10, when Zimri-Lim imposed loyalty oaths on populations throughout his kingdom indicating that the Yaminite support had been formally secured.

Having situated A.3080 within the moments of the war with Elam, it is likely that the tribal concerns and restricted geographical horizons that informed Zimri-Lim's letter to Hammi-ishtamar (as quoted in ll.11–24) indicate that the solidarity invoked by the Mariote king was much more limited in scope than a pan-Amurrite nationalism. And this conclusion is all the more assured when the complex images found in Hammi-ishtamar's quotation of Zimri-Lim are closely considered. First, Zimri-Lim began with the image of a *rimmatum*. The two Akkadian dictionaries differ over the mean-

⁴⁷ See Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 222–3.

ing of *rimmatum*. The CAD cites this text in its entry for *rimmatum* B, 'an ornament or bead,' which is followed by Anbar and Postgate.⁴⁸ *AHw.*, on the other hand, interprets this word as a 'maggot' ('*Madē*'), comparing it to the Hebrew *rimmāh*.⁴⁹ The immediate context provides little guidance, for the following noun *kišādum* may be understood as either 'necklace,' hence the 'beads of a necklace' or a 'riverbank,' thus the 'insect of the riverbank.' I have followed Durand, who has convincingly supported the latter option. He compares the word *rimmatum* with a lexical inventory of insects (*kulbabum* [KIŠI₈]) that qualifies these *kulbabū* according to color (*šalmum* [GE₆], *pešūm* [BARBAR], *muttaprišu* [RI.RI.GA]). On this basis, he interprets the Mari administrative records (*ARM* 7.246 and *ARM* 21.223) that mention *rimmātum* made of stones as insect-shaped ornaments.⁵⁰ In addition to a plausible West-Semitic etymology for the word *rimmatum*, cited by *AHw.* (*rimmāh*), Durand's interpretation is further supported by the fact that the word *kišādum* is better understood to mean 'riverbank,' rather than 'necklace,' given the riverine (*narūm*) imagery that immediately follows. At the same time, the image of necklace with beads of alternating color is not impossible and would aptly illustrate the geo-political landscape of the *ah Purattim* discussed in chapter three. Thus the rendering of *rimmatum* as 'termite' or 'ant' is preferred over the meaning 'bead,' largely because of the context, but the alternative interpretation should not be excluded altogether.

Beyond the unequivocal fact that the *rimmātum* existed in two contrasting colors,⁵¹ the crucial question is to what are the *rimmātum*

⁴⁸ CAD R 358 *rimmatum* B (cf. [e]*rimmatum*); see also, Anbar, "ועלה, "על כל אפיקו," 159; Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia*, 85; Stol, "Review of A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian."

⁴⁹ See also Heimpel's attempt to more specifically identify the *rimmatum* with termites in "Termites and Ants."

⁵⁰ Durand cites the Arabic *rimmat* ('ant') as a cognate for the Akkadian *rimmatum*, in addition to the Hebrew word cited by *AHw.* ("Fourmis blanche," 107).

⁵¹ The form *šarmum* (line 17) is unusual. It has been explained in one of two ways, neither of which alters the meaning of A.3080. Durand takes it as phonetic variant of *šalmum* (Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 490).

being compared. For Durand, “[c]ette dualité de couleur introduit un caractère d’opposition irrémédiable entre les deux ethnies, amorrite et élamite.”⁵² As a result, Durand insisted that the self-conscious fashioning of an ‘Amurrite’ nationalism in contradistinction to the Elamite ‘other’ is what fueled the opposition among the populations of Syro-Mesopotamia:

Lorsque les forces élamite décidèrent de marcher contre Hammu-rabi de Babylone, celui-ci appela au secours ses frères amorrites. Ces derniers, Bensim’alites et Benjaminites, décidèrent de lui venir en aide et plusieurs montrèrent à ce moment-là une nette réaction antiélamite... Zimrî-Lâm choisit, naturellement, de le seconder.⁵³

Thus for Durand, A.3080 provides crucial evidence for Amurrite ethnogenesis as well as a nationalistic response to the Elamites.

For Durand to arrive at this conclusion, he interprets the clause *ul kīma rimmātim ša kišādīm ša ištē pešet ū ištē šarat uštāparrasu* as an interrogative sentence and understands the verb *uštāparrasu* to convey a reflexive meaning. He translates it, “S’ils arrivent jusqu’aux Bords-de-l’Euphrate, ne se distingueront-ils pas comme les papillons de la berge, qui l’une est couleur claire et l’autre couleur sombre.”⁵⁴ Yet an alternate interpretation of this verbal form is preferable for two reasons. First, it is far from certain that the above clause should be taken as interrogative, since it is not explicitly marked as such. It should be noted as it regards questions in this missive, the one clause that undoubtedly is interrogative is also marked with a long-vowel.⁵⁵ Second, the verbal form *uštāparrasu* in A.3080 is a Št², being morphologically distinct from the Št¹ in the present (cf. *uštāpras*). The Št² of *parāsum* is, to my knowledge, only known from this tablet; therefore, the semantics of the Št² must be inferred from *parāsum*’s meanings in other stems. Durand

Heimpel, on the other hand, finds a word *šarmum*, which he interprets to be a word, meaning ‘brown’ (“Termites and Ants”).

⁵² Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 491.

⁵³ Ibid., 174.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 488.

⁵⁵ See ll. 17–20.

has compared the Št² of *parāsum* with the G-stem verbal adjective *parsum* and interpreted the form *uštapparrasū* as having causative and reflexive connotations, 'to distinguish oneself.' He reasons that the Št² of *parāsum* should be a reflexive, not reciprocal, since there is no Gt-stem verbal adjective.⁵⁶

Durand's solution is not impossible, but it is more plausible that the form *uštapparrasū* should be understood to be reciprocal. First, Durand does not consider that there is a Gt-stem of *parāsum* with reciprocal connotations, a stative form, that means 'to be separate (from one another).' Moreover, while the form is intransitive in the context of A.3080, since it is without an object, this syntactic construction is consistent with so-called internal causatives.⁵⁷ Thus an alternative to Durand's interpretation of this form is to take it as causative of the reciprocal Gt.⁵⁸ For the verb *parāsum* the Gt form (*pitrusum*) can convey the idea of 'to be separate, to be distinguished (between),'⁵⁹ whereas the Št² (*šutrusum*) would, then, convey the idea of 'to cause to distinguish.'

The foregoing discussion of the clause *ul kīma rimmatim ša kišadim ša ištet pešet ū ištet šarat uštapparrasū* leads to a reinterpretation of the image in question. If the above understanding is accepted, then, the Elamites are depicted as unable or unwilling to discern the tribal distinctions within the state of Mari. Zimri-Lim did not insist that there was an important difference between Amurrites and Elamites but rather that the Elamites would not "... make distinctions, as (there are between) the termites of the riverbank...!" Here the placement of the negator *ul*, which is typically expected immediately preceding the verb, is likely repositioned to accentuate the contrast between the verbal predicate (*uštapparrasū*) and the phrase introduced by *kīma* (*kīma rimmatim ša kišadim ša ištet pešet ū*

⁵⁶ Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 490.

⁵⁷ See also CAD P 176 *parāsu* mng. 10, where this form is translated 'to distinguish.'

⁵⁸ See GAG § 94dα.

⁵⁹ CAD P 175 *parāsu* mng. 6.

ištet šaraš).⁶⁰ Thus what would not be discerned by the Elamites were the differences among the inhabitants along the banks of the Euphrates. That is, the power of the figures of speech used by Zimri-Lim in this missive came from his bringing together two unlikely and separate ideas for the purpose of contemplating their unanticipated similarities.

The following sentence, which is introduced by the clause *kēmmi iqabbū*, clarifies the image in question by providing the second element to which the *rimmatum* is compared. In these lines, the white and black *rimmatum* are correlated with the Yamina and Simal tribes. The initial verb is marked as interrogative, using a *plene* spelling: *i-qa-ab-bu-iš*⁶¹ and thus lines 17–20 ask a rhetorical question: “... will they [the Elamites] say, ‘this city is Simal and this city is Yamina?’” The expected answer to Zimri-Lim’s question, is ‘no.’ That is, the Elamites are not going to make the obvious distinction between Yamina and Simal tribesmen, a distinction that from Zimri-Lim’s perspective was as plain as that difference between the colors black and white. That is to say, the difference that was important for both Zimri-Lim and Hammi-ishtamar was the distinction between the Yamina and Simal. Zimri-Lim was not, however, expressing a sense of ‘Amurrite’ identity or nationalism in contrast to what it meant to be Elamite.

The comparison of the Yamina and Simal to another set of differing occupants along the river banks, namely the *rimmatum*, provided the basis for the final image invoked by the Mariote king in ll. 21–23. In this final image, Zimri-Lim likened the Elamites’ military aggression to the floodwaters of the Euphrates River. He did this in order to reiterate the indiscriminate nature that would characterize an Elamite attack (*ul kīma milīm ša narīm ša ele’im ana šap[līm] uštamaḥḥarū*). As in ll. 13–16 above, the interpretive crux is again bound up in the meaning of a Št² verbal form, in this instance

⁶⁰ This seems to be an interpretation shared by Anbar, “ועלה על כל,” אפיקי,” 158–60 but he does not understand the next clause (ll. 21–3) to be an interrogative sentence.

⁶¹ Final weak verbs are nowhere else in this letter marked with *plene* writing (e.g. *malīm* [l. 28]).

uštamaḥḫaru. Durand again assigns to this form a reflexive sense.⁶² Yet unlike the Št² of *parāsum*, the Št² of *maḥārum* is more widely attested. The Š-stem of *maḥārum* conveys the idea, 'to make someone face (something),' whereas the Št² becomes either a reflexive, 'to meet with, to face (one's self),' or a reciprocal, 'to meet with, to compare (with someone).' It should be noted that the most prominent meaning of the Št² of *maḥārum* is that of reciprocity in relation to the Gt-stem,⁶³ reflexive connotations for the Št² are thus less common. While the verbal complement *ittū*⁶⁴ typically accompanies the Št² of *maḥārum* when it has reciprocal connotations, there are examples of this verb that have the causative and reciprocal connotations without this verbal complement.⁶⁵ Furthermore, in favor of taking *uštamaḥḫaru* as reciprocal in its meaning in A.3080 is the fact that, then, both Št² verbs in this letter would be used with a reciprocal sense by Zimri-Lim in order to depict the Elamites as an indiscriminate threat. That is, in A.3080 the verb *uštamaḥḫaru* would predicate the Elamites' inability to make comparisons: "They will not make comparisons..." And in context, the comparison the Elamites will not make is the evaluation of whether cities belonged to the Yamina or to the Simal tribe.

Continuing the parallels between *uštamaḥḫaru* and the clause in which the earlier Št² form *uštapparrasu* was used (lines 13–16), *ul kīma milīm ša narīm ša ele'im ana šap[līm] uštamaḥḫaru*, need not be an interrogative sentence. Rather, the negation (*ul*) again may be separated from the verb for emphasis, in order to heighten the contrast between the verb and the *kīma* phrase. In this case the clause *ul kīma milīm ša narīm ša ele'im ana šap[līm] uštamaḥḫaru* marks a crescendo in the Mariote king's letter, for in this statement he compared Elam to a quintessential indiscriminate force in ancient Syro-Mesopotamia: floods. Anbar has attempted to understand the image of a flood

⁶² Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 491, translates "se rencontrer avec."

⁶³ See Ungnad, § 70b.

⁶⁴ See CAD M/1 70 *maḥāru* mng. 11a.

⁶⁵ Cf. the example cited by the CAD M/1 70 *maḥāru* mng. 11b from Enuma Elish IV.142, which means 'to make a comparison, to make comparable.' Similarly, see CAD M/1 70 *maḥāru* mngs. 11c–d.

described by the phrase *ša ele'im ana šap[lim]*, by arguing that it should refer to the 'high and low (places on the banks).'⁶⁶ Thus he understood the image to be of the floodwaters rising to the highest levels of the riverbanks. While this solution is not impossible, the designation of the varying heights of the riverbank(s) (*kišadum* or *āḫum*) as *ša ele'im ana šap[lim]* would be a highly abstruse image, as Durand has observed.⁶⁷ It is more likely, therefore, that *ša ele'im ana šap[lim]* refers to the northern and southern extension of the Euphrates River. The description of the upper Euphrates refers to the reaches of the River north of its confluence with the Habur River and it is consistent with similar expressions such as the terrestrial classification of the mountainous regions of Tur Abdin as the *mātum elitum*.

The picture painted by Zimri-Lim of the Elamites as a flood coming from the north tacitly acknowledged the historical realities that the Elamites were already in the region of the Habur and that the Yaminites were commingled with Simalites within the three central districts of Zimri-Lim's state, south of the confluences of the Habur and Euphrates Rivers. Thus the Mariote king compared the Elamites with the flooding of the so-called *aveoli*,⁶⁸ or basins, that affected the banks of the Euphrates River from just north of the confluence of the Habur River to the regions just south of Mari. These floods crested first along the upper Euphrates and were fed by the Habur River as they undulated to the south.⁶⁹ These floods brought with them, typically in the spring, the risk of unnecessary water that could damage crops that had nearly ripened. Thus for Zimri-Lim, the Elamites would be an arbitrary and destructive force like the flooding of the Euphrates River that would advance from north to south. And as they did so, like a flood, the deluge of Elamite troops would overcome the commingled populations of Simal and Yamina along the Euphrates.

⁶⁶ Anbar, "ועלה על כל אפיקיך."

⁶⁷ Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 491; see also GAG § 118f;

⁶⁸ The *aveoli* refer to the catchments along the Euphrates, in the core districts of Mari (see Lafont, "Irrigation Agriculture at Mari," 130).

⁶⁹ M.13014 indicates that Elam advanced as far west as the northern reaches of the Euphrates' banks (see below).

The preceding discussion of A.3080 has, first of all, demonstrated that this missive gives no indication of a nascent Amurrite kin-based solidarity or nationalist response to the Elamites. Secondly, not only is a nationalist sentiment absent from A.3080, but also other sources reveal that popular response to the war was lukewarm, at best. As has been mentioned above, there was no indication that Zimri-Lim would side against Elam, even months after the Elamites had advanced along the Tigris and into the Upper Habur. Likewise, Charpin and Durand have observed that,

[l]a décision de lutter contre l'Élam n'a sûrement pas été facile à prendre pour Zimri-Lim, puisqu'elle revenait à combattre un souverain dont il avait pendant des années reconnu la supériorité de « Père » et à qui, en bon vassal, il avait envoyé des troupes pour participer à la prise d'Eshnunna. Pendant un moment, personne ne sut quelles seraient les intentions du roi de Mari.⁷⁰

The reaction among Zimri-Lim's constituents was mixed, and sharp divisions over the war with Elam were even reported to have turned family members against one another. In M.13014, for example, Shu-nuhra-halu reported to the king:

When we were made to swear the oath of the god in the countryside and we entered after the gods into the city, at the gate of Annunitum, a man (who is) a servant of *muškeenum*, who was detained (and) restrained from moving, he spoke to us: "When the Elamite troops devoured all the land of Shubartum, we heard the report (that) the king went up against the Elamites on a campaign." And the mother of Igmil-Sin, my lord, spoke to Igmil-Sin, my lord saying: "He went up against the Elamites, (so) ready or not, let your household enter into the fortress and wait for us." This is what she spoke to him. Then, he responded to her, saying "You can, indeed, dwell in a fortress, (but) will you thus see [refuge]?" He spoke (this) to his mother because of the bad report about Dur Sumu-Epuh. His mother was terrified and so she left; but each of the men with him

⁷⁰ "Des volontaires," 75.

went, saying: “I will indeed go along with the king against Elam! I will confront the Elamites with weapons! I will achieve my objective! If the enemy approaches, I will exclaim: ‘I will bring you low, keep my house intact and receive great praise!’” For this reason he is estranged from his mother.⁷¹

The deep cleavage within Zimri-Lim’s state further suggests the improbability of a nascent Amurrite ethnic self-awareness or sense of ‘nationalist’ solidarity against Elam.

That the response to the Elamites was not an ‘Amurrite’ nationalism is further supported by the fact that the same mixed sentiments can be found during the war with Eshnunna, five years earlier, when there is scholarly agreement that there certainly was not a nationalist impulse. The similarity of responses to these two conflicts is not surprising, since the geo-political circumstances

⁷¹ M.13014: 3) [i^š]-tu i-na ki-di-im ni-iš DINGIR na-ša-áz-ki-ra-am-ma 4) w[a]-ar-ki DINGIR.MEŠ a-na a-lim ni-te-er-ba-am 5) [i-na] ba-ab an-nu-ni-tim 6) [ša ik]-ka-mu pa-ad is-ni-in₅-né-ti-[ma] 7) [ke-e]m iq-bé-en₄-ne-si-im 8) [um-ma šu-m]a i-nu-ma ša-bu-um ELAM.MA.MEŠ 9) [ka-a] ma-a-at šu-bar-tim i-ku-lu 10) [te₄-em LU]GAL i-na ba-ar-ra-nim e-le-e [a-na še-er EL]AM.MA.MEŠ 11) [ni-š]me-ma um-mi- ig-mil^dSUEN be-lí-ia 12) [a-na ig-mi]L^dSUEN be-lí-ia ke-em iq-bi um-ma-mi 13) [a-na še-er ELA]M.MA.MEŠ i-le-e-em 14) [bi-it-ke]a ki-ma i-ba-aš-šu-ú 15) [a-na li-ib-bi b]i-ra-tim^{K1} dan-na-tim 16) [li-ru-ub]-ma re-eš-ne li-ki-il 17) [ki-a-am um-m]a-šu iq-bi-šum-ma 18) [ù ki-a-am i]-pu-ul-ši um-ma-mi 19) [bi-ra-tim]^{K1} wa-aš-bu-um ta-aš-bi 20) [šu-ru-ub-ke] ak-ke-em-ma ta-am-ma-ri 21) [aš-šum te₄]-mi-im la dam-qí-im ša BÀ[D^{K1}]-su-mu-e-pu-ub 22) [a-na um-m]i-šu ki-a-am iq-bi 23) [um-ma-š]u ip-ru-dam-ma it-ta-a[l-la-ak] 24) [ù ka-a]LÚ.MEŠ it-ti-šu i-la-ku-ni[m um-ma-mi] 25) [lu-ul-lí]-ik a-na pa-ni še-e-er LU-GAL [it-ti ELAM.MA].MEŠ 26) [i-na ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.MEŠ] lu-up-ri-ik-ma 27) [ba-da-ni] lu-uk-šu-ud ù šum-ma 28) [na-ak-rum i-s]a-ni-qa-am i-na qa-tim 29) [a-wa-tam lu]-ud-di-in um-ma a-na-ku-ma 30) [lu-ša-p]i-il-ka ù bi-ti lu-ša-al-lim 31) [ta-ni-tam] ka-bi-tam lu-um-bu-ur 32) [aš-šum an-n]é-tim a-na ^fum-mi-šu it-ti[a-ki-ir] 33) [i-na-an-na] 1 LÚ i-na ne-šú-ti-šu 34) [ša ki-ma iš]te-em-mu-šu. This letter securely dates between the tenth and twelfth months of ZL 10, based on its reference to the oath imposed on the populations of the kingdom of Mari, and thus months after Zimri-Lim had formally sided with Hammurabi of Babylon against Elam (see Charpin and Durand, “Des vointaires”).

during the war with Eshnunna were remarkably similar to those created by the Elamite's invasion in ZL 10. During the war with Eshnunna there were two divergent opinions among the population: there were staunch supporters of the war and those who wanted to sue for peace. In ZL 4 Eshnunnean forces had attacked the Habur triangle, while Zimri-Lim unified opposition among the kings of this region. Ultimately, Zimri-Lim negotiated a conclusion to the military confrontation with Eshnunna that kept the Habur triangle within his sphere of influence, while at the same time recognizing the paternity of Ibal-pi-El. This proposal for peace, however, met with opposition, which was most vociferously expressed by both Lupahum the *āpilum*-prophet of Dagan and an unnamed *qammatum*-prophetess. Lupahum encouraged Zimri-Lim, on behalf of the god Dagan, that "Wherever you go, you will encounter favor of heart. Battering ram and tower are given to you. They will go by your side and keep you company." Furthermore, Lupahum cautioned Zimri-Lim with the divine message: "I (Dagan) am afraid that you trust in the peace of the Eshnunnean (king) and (that) you are growing weary."⁷² Likewise, Zimri-Lim's sister named Inib-shina, the wife of the god Addu, reported the message of a *qammatum*-prophetess, who exclaimed:

The peace offers of the Eshnunnean (king) are deceit: water runs under chaff. I will collect him in the net that I knot! I will erase his city! And (as for his) wealth of old, I will cause it to be utterly defiled.⁷³

The prophetic activities at this moment in ZL 5, then, show that the war with Eshnunna was not without its enthusiastic supporters. That this sentiment was the result of 'Amurrite' nationalism or eth-

⁷² ARM 26.199:11) *e-ma ta-al-la-ku ū-ū-ub li-ib-bi* 12) *im-ta-na-a[b-b]a-ar-[k]a* ^{GIS}*ia-š-bu-um* 13) *ū* ^{GIS}*[d]i-im-tum [n]a-ad-nu-ni-kum* 14) *i-na i-di-ka i-il-[A]a-ku tap-pu-ut-ka i-il-la-ku...* 24) *as-sū-ur-ri a-na sa-li-mi-im* 25) *ša LÚ.ēš-nun-na*^{KI} *ta-ta-ka-li-ma* 26) *a-ab-ki ta-na-ad-di-i*.

⁷³ ARM 26.197: 11) *sa-li-ma-tum ša LÚ ēš-n[un-na]*^{KI} 12) *da-aš-tum-ma* 13) *ša-pa-al in-nu-da mu-ū* 14) *i-il-la-ku ū a-na še-tim* 15) *ša ū-kà-aš-ša-ru a-ka-am-mi-is-sū* 16) *a-al-šu ū-ḫa-al-la-aq* 17) *ū ma-ak-ku-ur-šu* 18) *ša iš-tu aq-da-mi* 19) *šu-ul-pu-tam ū-ša-al-p[a-a]*^t cf. ARM 26.199, above.

nic solidarity, however, is not possible, since the adversary was Eshnunna, another 'Amurrite' state. Rather, the geo-political interests in controlling the Habur triangle and Sinjar better explain the response of these prophets, and it is, therefore, not surprising that Zimri-Lim opted to conclude the terms of peace with Eshnunna, while retaining control of these regions.

During the war with Elam, the divergent responses represent the same popular impulses, namely an interest in retaining the Habur triangle and the Sinjar as well as a concern to avoid the expenses of war. The difference, however, during the Elamite war was that Zimri-Lim could not unify the Habur kings to oppose Elam. His tribal alliances in the region had been dismantled and he could not, therefore, negotiate an advantageous conclusion to the conflict. He was forced instead to continue his war with Elam despite popular opposition. The internal communiqué between Zimri-Lim and the *merhûm*-leader Ibal-El (A.2730) as well as the king's correspondence with Hammi-ishtamar (A.3080) reveal failed attempts to rehabilitate tribal alliances in order to retain control of the Habur triangle. It was because of the dire political straights in the upper Habur that A.3080 shows a heavy-handed ploy by the Mariote king to coerce Yamina opposition to the Elamite threat. Zimri-Lim's foreign policy was heavily dependent on his alliances with tribes, so it is not surprising to find him writing to the Yamina leader, Hammi-ishtamar, with a sense of urgency, even anxiety, during the opening months of the crisis with Elam. Zimri-Lim had decisively defeated the Yamina in ZL 5 and concluded an alliance with them that subjected the Yamina tribal populations from the three central districts of Mari to a *tebibtum*-census for the purposes of corvée (ZL 5). And in ZL 10 it was essential that the Simal king should enforce his authority over the Yamina and compel them to fight against Elam.

While Zimri-Lim attempted to intimidate the Yamina, his rhetoric was devoid of any sense of 'Amurrite' nationalism in opposition to an Elamite threat. Ibal-El had recounted to the king in A.2730 that the Elamite general, Atamrum, subverted the Simal pastoralists' relations with the peoples of Ida-Maras. As a result, the Mariote king baldly insisted that Yaminite troops should be readied to face the menacing Elamite threat, and he played on specific geo-political fears that confronted the Yamina, namely their vulnerable position in the three central districts of the *ah Purattim* (Saggaratum,

Terqa, and Mari) should the Elamites advance. As a result, the Si-mal's control of the upper Habur had been momentarily lost, and the Yamina's support at this moment of crisis was uncertain.

The beginning of the end: the outcome of the events in the upper Jezira

In the fifth month of ZL 10, immediately after his return from Yamhad, Zimri-Lim attempted to reassert his authority in the upper Jezira. He campaigned to lift the siege against the city of Razama and succeeded. Nevertheless, the Elamite presence was already entrenched at Shubat-Enlil. There an Elamite general, Kunnam, pressured local kings to submit to the Elamite Sukkal. The predicament that Zimri-Lim returned from Yamhad to find, then, was one in which many of his allies in the upper Jezira—and in particular the Yamut-bal king Qarni-Lim—were no longer there.

In part as a result of his inability to regain control of the upper Jezira, Zimri-Lim secured an alliance with the embattled king of Babylon in the eighth month of ZL 10. Both Zimri-Lim and Hammu-rabi of Babylon swore:

[F]rom this day, as long as I live, I will be an enemy of Siwa-Palar-Huhpak. I will not exchange my servants or messengers with his servants and I will not write him. I will not make peace with Siwa-Palar-Huhpak without Zimri-Lim. If I consider peace with Siwa-Palar-Huhpak I will consult with Zimri-Lim... If the decision is not to make peace, then we will (wait) and make peace with Siwa-Palar-Huhpak (king of Elam) together...⁷⁴

⁷⁴ M.6435+: 5) *iš-tu u₄-mi-im an-ni-i-im a-di ba-a[l-tà-ku]* 6) *it-ti ši-wa-pa-la-ar-ḫu-úb* 7) *lu-ú a-na-ak-ki-[ir]* 8) *ÌR.MEŠ-ia [DUMU.MEŠ šī-ī[p-rī-ī]a it-ti [ÌR.MEŠ-šū]* 9) *la uš-[ā]a-ša-a[b-ba-tu ú šu-nu-ti]* 9) *la uš-[ā]a-ša-a[b-ba-tu ù šu-nu-ti]* 10) *la a-ša-ap-pa-ru-[šum]* 11) *ba-lum zī-ī[m]-rī-[lī-im]* 12) *LUGAL ma-rī^{K1} ù [ma-a-at ḫa-na.MEŠ]* 13) *it-ti ši-wa-pa-la-a[r-ḫu-úb-pa-ak]* 14) *la a-sa-al-lī-[mu]* 15) *[šum-m]a it-ti ši-wa-pa-la-ar-[ḫu-úb-pa-ak]* 16) *a-na sa-la-mi-im pa-nam a-ša-ak-[ka-an]* 17) *it-ti zī-im-rī-lī-im...* 19) *[lu-ú áš-ta-al-ma]* 20) *šum-ma l[a]*

For Zimri-Lim, the Elamite offensive had crippled his means of pursuing foreign interests though tribal connections in the upper Jezira, especially since the Yamut-bal king Qarni-Lim had been killed. But for Hammu-rabi of Babylon, he had a newfound interest in the Habur triangle. There is little indication that Hammu-rabi had the aspirations or the ability to exert influence in the upper Jezira earlier in Zimri-Lim's reign.⁷⁵ Yet when the king of Babylon received the Sukkal's threatening letter in the opening months of ZL 11, he took an active interest in the region while Zimri-Lim sojourned in Yamhad. Hammu-rabi, for example, wrote the same letter to Buqaqum, in Suhum, and to the governor of Mari, Bahdi-Lim:

Concerning that which you wrote, you said: "Lawila-Addu went to Eshnunna for additional troops. Now Atamrum wrote to the Sukkal of Elam, saying: 'When Zimri-Lim draws near to save Razama, you make an incursion into his land.' This is (what) Atamrum wrote to the Sukkal of Elam. My lord should not neglect my missive." Concerning what you wrote (about) the Sukkal of Elam, he has not dispatched additional troops with Lawila-Addu. Lawila-Addu was sent back from before Atamrum empty-handed. But here the troops are assembled and ready! Thus I have been continually writing to you (about) the well-being of Zimri-Lim, (about) the well-being of his troops, (for) a report about the troops of Elam and the troops of Eshnunna who are besieging Razama.⁷⁶

s[a-l]a-[m]u-um it-ti ši-wa-pa-la-a[r-ḥu-úḥ-pa-ak] 22) pu-ḥu-ur-[ma] 23) lu-ú ni-sa-al-[li-im].

⁷⁵ Prior to this point the most significant factor preventing Hammu-rabi from this expansion of his political sphere of influence was Eshnunna.

⁷⁶ ARM 6.52 (= LAPO 17 552): 3) *aš-šum ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am um-ma at-t[a-ma]* 4) *la-wi-la-^dIM* 5) *a-na te-er-di-it ša-bi-im* 6) *a-na èš-nun-na^{K1} i-ta-la-ak* 7) *ù a-ta-am-ru-um a-na SUKKAL* 8) *LÚ.ELAM.NIM-tim* 9) *ki-a-am i[l]-pu-ur um-ma-mi* 10) *i-nu-ma xi-im-ri-li-im* 11) *a-na ra-za-ma-a^{K1} šu-ḫu-bi-im* 12) *i-[e₄-eḥ-ḥu-ú]* 13) *at-ta a-na ma-ti-šu na-aḥ-bi-it* 14) *ki-a-am a-ta-a[m]-r[u-u]m* 15) *a-na SUKKAL.ELAM.NIM-tim iš-pu-[ur]* 16) *a-na na-aš-pa-ar-t[i-ta]* 17) *be-li a-ab-*

This interest in the upper Jezira, then, stands in contrast to the Babylonian king's less active role in the region during Zimri-Lim's confrontation with Eshnunna five years earlier.⁷⁷

Not long after the conclusion of the treaty between Zimri-Lim and Hammu-rabi the locus of the war shifted to the south, since Kunnam soon abandoned Shubat-Enlil and led his troops to fight against Babylon.⁷⁸ And just as the Elamite presence had created a reshuffling of alliances in the upper Jezira, so too the Elamite withdrawal would precipitate another reorganization. As the focus

šū la i-na-ad-ḏi 18) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 19) SUKKAL ELAM.NIM-tim *ša-ba-am te-er-di-tam* 20) *it-ti la-wi-la-^dIM ú-ul it-ru-ud* 21) *la-wi-la-^dIM re-gú-us-sú-ma* 22) *a-na še-er a-ta-am-ri-im it-tu-ur* 23) *ù an-ni-ki-a-am ÉRIN-um pa-bi-ir-ma* 24) *re-ša-am ú-ka-al* 25) *ki-ma aš-ta-na-aḫ-pa-ra-ak-kum* 26) *šū-lum ʾi-im-ri-lī-im* 27) *šū-lum um-ma-na-ti-šū* 28) *te₄-em ÉRIN ELAM.NIM-tim ù ÉRIN èš-nun-na^{K1}* 29) [*ša r}a-ʾa-[m]a-a^{K1} la-nu-ú*. The same letter was sent to Bahdi-Lim (ARM 6.53 [= LAPO 17 553]).

⁷⁷ In the course of ZL 3–5, Babylonian involvement is exclusively diplomatic, and primarily their diplomatic involvement is limited to the passive recipients of Mariote envoys at the Babylonian court (e.g. A.2968⁺). The best attested response presumably initiated by the Babylonians is reported by the governor of Saggaratum, Yaqqim-Addu, who recounted that Babylonian officials had arrived on a diplomatic mission regarding Qarni-Lim's defection: "I sent this tablet on the day that Shaggar-abu, the chief of the Amurrites for the palace of Hammu-rabi (of Babylon), and Yakun-Addu, the diplomat, arrived at Saggaratum. I asked them about (their) message and they answered, (saying): 'We are on a diplomatic mission to our Lord (i.e. Zimri-Lim) concerning the news that Qarni-Lim has revolted and had a military victory.' This is what they said." ARM 14.110: 5) *u₄-um tuḫ-pi an-né-e-em* 6) *a-na še-er be-lī-ia ú-ša-bi-lam* 7) ^{md}HAR.RA-a-bu ^{LÚ}GAL.MAR.TU 8) *ša KÁ É.GAL-lim* 9) *ša ḫa-mu-ra-bi* 10) *ù ia-ku-un-^dIM* 11) *ša ši-pi-ra-tim a-na sa-ga-ra-tim^{K1}* 12) *ike-šū-du-nim te₄-ma-am* 13) *aš-ta-al-[š]u-nu-ú* 14) *ki-a-am iq-bu-nim um-ma [š]u-nu-ma* 15) *aš-šum te₄-mi-im ša qar-ni-lī-im* 16) *ba-ar-tam i-pu-úš-ma da-am₇-da-am i-du-uk* 17) *a-na še-er be-lī-niš* 18) [*š]a-aḫ-ra-nu an-ni-tam iq-bu-ni[m]*). Rather, the primary interests of Babylon at this moment seem to be focused on the region of Suhum, for it was in ZL 5 that Hammu-rabi and Zimri-Lim had their contentions over the city of Hit adjudicated by the Sukkal of Elam.

⁷⁸ ARM 26.325.

of Elamite aggression shifted from the Habur at the end of ZL 10, Zimri-Lim's support from the Yamina dramatically diminished. The Mariote king's worries expressed in A.3080 were realized. In the opening months of ZL 11, Bahdi-Lim wrote to Zimri-Lim:

Concerning the deficit of troops of the Yamina that I mustered in Der and who did go on (to Babylon), about whom I wrote to my lord, my lord has written, saying: "Perhaps they are delayed while they equip themselves for the campaign and obtain whatever they need. [Therefore, they] did not go on (to Babylon). Muster [them at] the border!" [This is what my lord] wrote to me. I now mustered the troops at the border, but the troops remain in deficit. The Yamina who did not go on to Der, whatever deficit there was, as many as I wrote my lord they did not arrive here. They are on furlough. I filled the ranks with troops at my disposal. I reinforced (?) the troops and dispatched them on the campaign.⁷⁹

In effect, the Yaminite troops levied by Zimri-Lim were not reporting for their service. Sura-Hammu, a Yaminite king, also reported that, "All of the Yamina are inattentive; Hammi-ishtamar is continually writing them, (yet) no one at all is coming to him!"⁸⁰ Bahdi-Lim and Sura-Hammu were not exaggerating the dire situation of

⁷⁹ ARM 6.30: 3) *aš-šum mi-ti-it ša-bi-im ša DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi-na* 4) *ša i-na di-ir^{K1} ap-qí-du-ma* 5) *ù la i-ti-qú ša a-na še-er be-lí-ia* 6) *aš-pu-ra-am be-lí ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am* 7) *um-ma-a-mi pí-qa-at a-na te₄-ha-ar-r[a-mi]m* 8) *šu-ta-aš-bu-tim ù mi-im-ma* 9) *ša qa-ti-š[u-nu] le-qé-em ú-^ru^h-^rbu^r-^rru^r-m[a]* 10) [*aš-šum ki-a-am ú-ul i-ti-qú*] 11) [*ša-ba-am i-na r]e-eš A.ŠÀ pí-[qí-id]* 12) [*an-ni-tam be-lí iš-pu-s[a-am]*] 13) [*ap]-qí-id-ma ša-bu-um mi-ti*] 14) [*ap]-qí-id ša-bu-um mi-ti*] 15) [DUMU].MEŠ *ia-mi-na ša i-na [di-ir^{K1}]* 16) [*la i-ti-qú m]i-im-ma mi-ti-tam ra-šú*] 17) *ma-lí ša a-[na] be-lí-ia aš-pu-ra-[am]* 18) *ú-ul ike-šu-du-nim pa-te₄-ru* 19) *ù i-na ša-bi-im ša i-na qa-ti-[ia]* 20) *i-ba-aš-šu-ú ša-ba-am* 21) *ú-ma-al-lí ú-BI-IK-ma* 22) [*a-na ha-ar-ra-nim at-tà-ra-ad*] (collations, Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 17, 183, n.380). Cf., for example, the Yamina defections reported in letters ARM 2.48, 2.56, 3.19, 6.38+, 14.64, 14.83.

⁸⁰ ARM 14.83: 23) DUMU.MEŠ *ia-mi-na ka-la-šu* 24) *pu-ul-lu-su ha-am-mi-iš-ta-mar* 25) *iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-[š]u-nu-ši-im-ma* 26) *ma-am-m-am a-na še-ri-[š]u ú-ul i-la-ak.*

the Yamina desertion, for according to the administrative records (ARM 23.428–29) nearly sixty-percent of the Yamina troops were absent, only 145 persons of 354 were present.⁸¹ Thus Zimri-Lim's tribal-alliance with the Yamina had proven unsuccessful.

Despite the failing support of the Yamina, an important victory for Hammu-rabi and Zimri-Lim came in the fourth month of ZL 11 when Elam was forced to retreat from Hiritum, along the central Euphrates, across the Tigris, and back to the city of Mankisum. A key to the victory over Elam, as Denis Lacambre has observed, was that Zimri-Lim had persuaded Atamrum, the former Elamite military commander, to turn against Elam. Atamrum had begun his career at the Yamut-bal center of Allahad, in the south Sinjar, and now had established himself as a Yamut-bal king at Andarig.⁸² Thus Zimri-Lim's success in negotiating with him seemed a promising development in his attempt to resurrect this very important tribal alliance in the region.⁸³

Elam's withdrawal from Hiritum marked a turning point in the Elamite's offensive in Mesopotamia, though they pillaged Ekallatum and Eshnunna before they fully retreated to the Iranian Plateau. The Sukkal's departure, however, only brought momentary stability for Zimri-Lim's efforts in the Habur triangle and Sinjar. Zimri-Lim's diplomatic success with the Yamut-bal and his attempt to resuscitate the tribal allies with them was shortlived. The eleva-

⁸¹ Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 224 n.499 (and additional bibliography cited there).

⁸² One Atamrum's connections with Allahad(a), see for example, ARM 26.392, 438, On the location of Allahad(a) in the south Sinjar and connections with the Yamut-bal, see Birot, ARM(T), 129, note c.

⁸³ A.3669+: 6') *be-lí uš-te-pí-šu-ma é-kál-la-tim*^{K1} *a-tam-rum* 7') *ù ma-a-tam e-li-tam ma-a-at šu-bar-tim i-na zu-mu-ur* 8') LÚ.ELAM.MA.MEŠ *be-lí úš-ba-al-ki-tu* 9') LU.ELAM.MA *i-na zu-mu-ur a-lim bi-ri-tim*^{K1} *lu ip-tú-ur*. "My lord persuaded Atamrum, Ekallatum, and the Upper land of Shubartum. He has made (them) revolt against Elam, so that Elam has abandoned the cit of Hiritum!" (Published by Lacambre, "La bataille de Hiritum.") For the verb *šutepušum*, see Durand, *Les document épistolaires* 16 217. See also, A.96 (Joannès, "Le traité de vassalité d'Atamrum d'Andarig 167–70 = LAPO 16 291),

tion of the military general Silli-Sin to the throne of Eshnunna, rather than the Eshnunnean *mādarum* whom Hammu-rabi had selected to rule there, re-instigated the territorial conflicts that had provoked Hammu-rabi and Elam in the first place. The new king of Eshnunna questioned the territorial gains Hammu-rabi had made during his war with Elam, including the city of Mankisum. Thus Hammu-rabi outlined his case for Babylonian territorial interests along the Tigris:

As for the man of Eshnunna, he is maintaining his former statement. If he releases Mankisum, Upi, Shahadunu, and the banks of the Tigris River three double-miles south of Upi—which is the border my grandfather Apil-Sin fixed—then, I will make peace with him. Otherwise, if I am to release Mankisum, he should repay me (for) my efforts that I expended against the Sukkal of Elam for Mankisum. (Only) then may he take Mankisum and I (will take) Upi, Shahadunu and three double-miles south of Upi (along) the banks of the Tigris River.⁸⁴

And while the diplomacy between Eshnunna and Babylon continued in the final months of ZL 11, Hammu-rabi of Babylon simultaneously experienced mounting tensions with Rim-Sin of Larsa, to the south.

For the present purposes, the details of Babylonian interactions with Eshnunna eclipse the importance of Hammu-rabi's campaign against Larsa. It is significant, for example, that the territorial ambitions of Silli-Sin along the Tigris River found support from Ishme-Dagan at Ekallatum and Hammu-rabi of Kurda, who had seized the opportunity to throw off his subordination to At-

⁸⁴ A.405: 9) ... LÚ èš-nun-na^{K1} a-wa-ti-šu ma-aḫ-re-tim-ma ṣa-bi-it 10) šu[m]^r ma ma-an¹-kei-sa-am^{K1} ú-pi-ṛ^{K1} ṣa-ḫa-du-nu^{K1} 11) ù^r ṣa-pa¹-[a]l ú-pi-ṛ^{K1} 3 bi-ri A.ŠÀ 12) a-aḫ I₇.DA i-di-iq-la-at pa-at-ti-ia 13) [ša] ḫa-am-mi a-pi^dSU.EN iṣ-ku-nu ú-wa-aš-ša-ar 14) [it-ṛ]i-šu a-sa-lim ú-la-šu-ma šum-ma ma-an-kei-sa-am^{K1} 15) [a-na-ku] ú-wa-aš-š[a]-ar ma-na-ḫa-ti-ia ṣa aš-šum ma-an-kei-si-im^{K1} 16) [it-ti SUKK]AL ELAM.MA-tim ad-di-nu li-te-ra-am-ma 17) [ma-an-kei-š]a-am^{K1} li-iṣ-ba-at ù a-na-ku ú-pi-ṛ^{K1} 18) [ša-ḫa-d]u-nu^{K1} ù 3 bé-ri A.ŠÀ ṣa-pa¹-al 19) [ú-pi-ṛ]ṛ^{K1} a-aḫ I₇.DA i-di^riq¹-la-at (cited in Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 228 n. 531).

amrum, Zimri-Lim's vassal. Thus the Habur triangle and Sinjar again devolved into a crisis of authority. These renewed conflicts in the region yet again threatened Zimri-Lim's administration. The Mariote king responded to the gathering threats in the region just as he had successfully done so during his war with Eshnunna; he sent an envoy aimed at reconciling two of the largest tribal groups in the region, the Yamut-bal king of Andarig (Atamrum) and the Numha king of Kurda (Hammu-rabi). This time, however, Zimri-Lim's intervention failed. So the Mariote king prepared for a campaign, one that targeted what he perceived to be the source of the problem in the region, Ishme-Dagan. Yet his military campaign, like his diplomatic efforts, was ineffective.

The solutions to the troubles in the Habur triangle, and its environs, only came as a result of pressures by Hammu-rabi of Babylon. Beginning with the Elamite war, Hammu-rabi showed increasing interest in the region, in part due to Zimri-Lim's absence from Mari during the early months of this conflict. Then again, in the months after the war with Elam, Hammu-rabi had confronted Silli-Sin over his territorial expansions along the Tigris. So when Ishme-Dagan joined with Silli-Sin, it was reported that Hammu-rabi was outraged by their alliance:

When Hammu-rabi gave his order, he wiped away his tears and he constantly petitioned the god against the enemy of my lord. He spoke thus: "(Regarding) long ago, I will repay him in (a mere) two months and make him prostrate him(self) to the ground...! And now I have heard (it said) among my associates: 'Since he has struck the hem of the garment of Eshnunna, I, for one, will make sure his order is kept.' My lord should know this!"⁸⁵

⁸⁵ A.2962: 5) *i-nu-ma ḥa-mu-ru-bi 'nu'-ú-ur-tam id-dē-nu* 6) *ma-lī ba-ki-im im-sí* 7) *ù AN-lam a-na ze-e-er b[e-ḏi-ia* 8) *im-ta-na-ḥa-ar* 9) *ù ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-ma* 10) *ú-mu ru-qa a-na TII 2-KAM* 11) *gi-mi-il-la-šu ú-ta-ar* 12) [*ū*] *'i'-na e-pé-ri-im uš-pa-la-<sa>-ab-šu ...* 22) *ù i-na a-ḥi-<ti>-ia ki-a-am eš-me* 23) *um-ma-mi ki-ma šu-ú qa-ra-an TÚG* 24) *LÚ eš-nun-na*^{K1} *iš-ba-tu* 25) *a-na-ku ši-bi-ít te₄-mi-im* 26) *lu-ur-ši-šu an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de*. This interpretation of

Silli-Sin's alliance with Ishme-Dagan forced Hammu-rabi of Babylon to confront Eshnunna as well as to intensify his involvements in the Habur and the Sinjar regions. And while Hammu-rabi's threats against Silli-Sin's would not prove idle, the Babylonian king's full attention toward the problem in the Habur and Sinjar would have to wait until his military efforts against Larsa were completed.⁸⁶

The siege of Larsa occupied Hammu-rabi until the seventh month of ZL 12, and immediately afterwards he turned his attention to the Eshnunna-Ekallatum axis. Following the opening months of ZL 12, when Silli-Sin, Ishme-Dagan, and Hammu-rabi of Kurda forged their alliance, Zimri-Lim's efforts had been scarcely effective in securing Mariote interests in the Habur triangle and Sinjar. But in the month following his capture of Larsa, the seventh month of ZL 12, Hammu-rabi quickly compelled Silli-Sin to withdraw his support for Ishme-Dagan. His capture of Larsa resulted in a realignment of political hierarchy, in which he was the emerging patron. The repercussions of Elam's dismantling of Zimri-Lim's tribal connections in the Habur and Sinjar, especially those with the Yamut-bal, were now coming into focus. That is, the full effects of the changes in international politics from the war with Elam in the preceding months only really became apparent after the siege of Larsa. At this moment, Hammu-rabi had not only proved to be the primary force in repelling Elam, but also succeeded in resolving the turmoil in the Habur after Elam's withdrawal, something Zimri-Lim's severely weakened tribal alliances could not accomplish.

The realignment of political power in the Habur during ZL 11–12 undercut Zimri-Lim's foreign policies. Zimri-Lim had consistently relied upon his relations with the Yamut-bal to secure his interests in the region, meanwhile pursuing more politically expedient solutions in his many dealings with other regional sovereigns.

A.2962, follows Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 254–7 (contra, Durand, "Espionnage et guerre froide").

⁸⁶ The rationale for Hammu-rabi's campaign against Rim-Sin, which began no later than the second month of ZL 12 and even as early as the final month of ZL 11, seems to have been Rim-Sin's obstruction during the war against Elam. Charpin, *ARM(T)* 26/2, 146–7.

Yet Zimri-Lim's policy of international politics with the Yamut-bal had been irreparably undermined and this is best illustrated by the shifting relations between the Yamut-bal king of Andarig, Zimri-Lim, and Hammu-rabi. As noted in the previous chapter, the Yamut-bal had long been the closest ally of the Simal and Zimri-Lim. And despite Atamrum's leading the Elamite troops against Zimri-Lim's interests in the Habur, the two did reconcile and join in repelling the Elamite forces with the assistance of Hammu-rabi of Babylon. Yet when Hammu-rabi defeated Mashkan-Shapir and moved against Larsa, it compelled the Yamut-bal to redirect patronage toward Babylon.

When Mashkan-Shapir was seized, all of the land of the Yamut-bal repeatedly cried out "long live my lord!" Now the troops of the Yamut-bal have camped among the camp of Hammu-rabi's troops.⁸⁷

As it concerned Atamrum, specifically, his response is documented in ARM 27.164, when he arrived at Babylon at the end of Hammu-rabi's siege of Larsa. Charpin has observed that "La motivation du voyage d'Atamrum n'est pas évidente, puisque son départ est contemporain de la chute de Larsa..."⁸⁸ Yet Atamrum's presence at Babylon at the very moment of Larsa's demise is best understood as the result of the turmoil in the Habur triangle that was precipitated by an increasingly moribund international politics with the Simal king Zimri-Lim. Zimri-Lim had not and could not provide political stability in the region. As a result, Atamrum sought the support of Hammu-rabi to resolve these problems, and he further indicated the extent of his new loyalty to the Babylonian king by circumventing Zimri-Lim and bypassing Mari on his return to the Sinjar.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ ARM 26.383: 6) *ki-ma ma-aš-ka-an-ša-pí-ir^{K1} iš-ša-ab-tu* 7) *ma-at-ia-mu-ut-ba-lim ka-lu-ša a-na ha-am-mu-ra-bi* 8) *bu-ur be-lí iš-ta-si ù um-ma-na-at ha-am-mu-ra-bi* 10) *ir-ta-ab-ša*.

⁸⁸ Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d'histoire*, 232, n. 573.

⁸⁹ See ARM 27.164 and the commentary by Birot, ARM(T) 27, 35; also see the discussion by Charpin, "Sapiratum, ville du Suhûm," 352, n.39.

A CONCLUDING PROPOSAL: THE END OF MARI AND THE LOOTING OF THE 'ARCHIVES' AT MARI

I began this chapter by showing that in the archives from Mari, MAR.TU and *amurrum* simply do not denote an ethnic group's self-imposed boundaries, but rather reveal more about the ideological constructs of outsiders, namely southern Mesopotamian populations. Thus the complexity of 'Amurriteness' during the reign of Zimri-Lim continues to be veiled by the very terms MAR.TU and *amurrum*, which were still used with discursive connotations that were rooted in the previous millennium. I have further argued that during the reign of Zimri-Lim there was no meaningful sense of 'Amurrite' identity or nationalism that was catalyzed by the war with Elam. At the same time, I have suggested that the events of ZL 10 marked the beginning of the end for Zimri-Lim's political control in the Habur. That is, the war with Elam precipitated a salient change as a result of Zimri-Lim's loss of his closest ally, the Yamut-bal, and it led to a diminished and compromised Mariote influence over the upper Jezira. The Elamite invasion helped to reconfigure the politics in the upper Jezira by dismantling the tribal network that Zimri-Lim had so consistently used to exercise authority in the region.

At the same time, the Elamite presence in the upper Jezira pressured the Mariote king's tribal alliance with the Yamina even closer to his capital. The series of events set in motion by the Elamite invasion closely resembled those of the earlier second Yamina revolt. And while Zimri-Lim was able to prevent a full-fledged rebellion among the Yamina amidst the Elamite war, the Yamina's lack of support in the course of the war was symptomatic of his crumbling authority. Concomitant with Zimri-Lim's waning political power was the ascent of Hammu-rabi of Babylon, who became one of the most powerful sovereigns in Syro-Mesopotamia. Hammu-rabi not only dealt with matters in the upper Jezira during Zimri-Lim's absence but also managed to successfully lead the efforts to repel the Elamite armies. Thus Hammu-rabi quickly emerged as a patron for many kings in the Habur by comparison with Zimri-Lim, who lacked a reliable means to constrain loyalty from sovereigns in the region.

The historical patterns in Zimri-Lim's foreign policy that have been described in this chapter (and in the previous chapter) as well

as how they indirectly contributed to Hammur-rabi's political ascent lend themselves to a brief discussion of the 'archives' of international communiqués that were recovered from Tell Hariri, ancient Mari. The extant letters from Mari, after all, are the result of Hammur-rabi's capture and looting of the city. The letters discovered at Mari can be divided into two heuristic groups: dead and living archives.⁹⁰ First, belonging to the former group are the tablets from the reigns of Yahdun-Lim and Sumu-Yamam, which were found below the palace level in the rooms south of the large courtyard, room 131 (in rooms 133–42). Also, the administrative texts from the reign of Yasmah-Addu, which had been reused as fill in latter constructions, belonged to the dead 'archives' recovered from Mari.⁹¹ Second, then, the letters from the reign of Zimri-Lim as well as the letters from the reign of Yasmah-Addu, among other tablets, comprised the so-called living 'archives' at the time when Mari was destroyed.⁹² The diplomatic correspondences of these kings were essentially found in rooms 108 and 115 of the palace, two small rooms that were located off of 'the court of palms' (room 106)⁹³ that provided access to Zimri-Lim's throne room.

While the find spots of these tablets were not always carefully or accurately recorded, Charpin's work on the archival contexts of these letters has added immensely to our understanding of them. Charpin discusses seven 'labels' recovered in rooms 108 and 115. These labels appear to have aided the Babylonian scribes, who sorted the letters in Hammur-rabi's thirty-second year after he had captured the city. They would have corresponded, then, with boxes (*pišannum*) that organized the sum of diplomatic missives found in these rooms. These 'labels' preserved the Babylonian organization of the tablets recovered from Mari, reading "the boxes of tablets

⁹⁰ Charpin, "La fin des archives," 36, n. 22.

⁹¹ These were found in room 116 (Charpin, "Les archives d'époque assyrienne," esp., 255).

⁹² Charpin, "La fin des archives dans le palais de Mari," 34

⁹³ For the identification of court 106 with the court of palms, see Durand, "L'organisation de l'espace dans le palais de Mari." 54–7.

belonging to the servants of Shamshi-Adad/Zimri-Lim.”⁹⁴ Moreover, Charpin has offered additional insight into the Babylonian activities in the palace after capturing it. In addition to seven labels naming Shamshi-Adad and Zimri-Lim, he published an eighth label that, while fragmentary, was recovered in the north gate of the palace.⁹⁵ The north gate was the primary point of access to the palace complex,⁹⁶ and Charpin has suggested that the location of this label hints at the Babylonian looting of the archives from Mari after the city’s destruction.⁹⁷

The Babylonian interest in the archives of other cities, like Mari, was not unique. In fact, within the archive of Mari itself one finds letters that were likely duplicates from other cities’ royal archives, intercepted in transit or collected from an enemy’s palace after a city was captured. Among these are the letters belonging to Ishme-Addu, king of Ashnakkum dated roughly to Zimri-Lim’s eleventh year, those belonging to a Yaminite king (perhaps Sumu-Dabi)⁹⁸ from the first three years of Zimri-Lim’s reign, and those belonging to Sumiya in the yet unpublished correspondence from the conflict with Eshnunna in Zimri-Lim’s fifth year.⁹⁹ Yet the fact

⁹⁴ E.g. M.13032: 1) GI.PISAN *tup-pa-tim* 2) *ša* ÌR.MEŠ 3) *ša* dUTU-*š*-dIM.... (in Charpin, “La fin des archives,” 31). Six other labels designated boxes of tablet from the reign of Zimri-Lim.

⁹⁵ Charpin, “La fin des archives,” 32 (text n. 8), 37–8.

⁹⁶ See Margueron, *Mari: Métropole de l’Euphrate*, 461.

⁹⁷ This may be contrasted with what Charpin notes about the missives written by the women of the palace found in the women’s quarter, found in rooms 52 and 110, which were apparently not sorted by the Babylonians. And likewise, Zimri-Lim’s correspondences with Iddiyatum, a merchant, seem to have escaped Babylonian scrutiny (Charpin, “La fin des archives dans le palais de Mari,” 39).

⁹⁸ The addressee in this collection of letters (*ARM* 26.168–172 and *ARM* 1.12 and A.2741 [= *LAPO* 16 432–33]) is never explicitly named. What is clear is that Sumu-dabi was a central figure in the first revolt. At the same time, so was the Yamina king Shamshi-Adad of Samanum (see Durand, “Peuplement,” 165 and n. 292).

⁹⁹ These dossiers are discussed briefly by Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 627 and Charpin and Ziegler, *Essai d’histoire*, 16–17.

that the Babylonians sorted Zimri-Lim's diplomatic communiqués raises the question of what was taken. That is, what was the rationale behind the intelligence gathering performed by Hammurabi's scribes? Durand has offered a very interesting hypothesis regarding the nature of the Babylonian sorting of the missives at Mari. Durand observed that among the letters recovered from Mari there is relatively limited evidence of Zimri-Lim's diplomatic exchanges with contemporary sovereigns of the other major states, such as Babylon, Yamhad, Eshnunna. He explains:

On s'attendrait à trouver dans les archives royales de Mari une importante collection de lettres royales, échanges épistolaires de Zimri-Lîm avec les autres souverains du Proche-Orient pendant les 14 ans de son règne. En fait il n'en est rien.... Ce que nous avons encore à notre disposition n'est surtout constitué que par les échanges épistolaires avec les princes de la Haute -Djéziré et certains du Sud-Sindjar.¹⁰⁰

The solution Durand posits for the absence of international correspondences, then, is that the Babylonians were especially interested and, hence, looted these missives. That is, Durand concludes that the Babylonian scribes dispatched to Mari by Hammurabi were predominantly interested in the international communiqués.¹⁰¹

It should be noted that absences of evidence cannot be explained with certainty and that Durand's hypothesis is certainly plausible. At the same time, the present study has arrived at conclusions that may support an alternative explanation for the paucity of international communiqués recovered from Mari. That is, while the dearth of diplomatic letters between Zimri-Lim and other major contemporary sovereigns may be attributed, in part, to their confiscation by Babylonian scribes, the extant distribution of such letters from Mari might also be judged to give a relatively accurate reflection of the historical developments in the foreign policy of Zimri-Lim. That is, the scarcity of international correspondences recov-

¹⁰⁰ Durand, *Les documents épistolaires* 16, 383.

¹⁰¹ "L'organisation de l'espace dans le palais de Mari." (See also, Charpin, "La fin des archives dans le palais de Mari;" and Charpin, "L'archivage des tablettes dans le palais de Mari.")

ered from Mari may be a correlate of Zimri-Lim's foreign policies, in which he was less reliant on his dealings with sovereigns on the basis of his civic identity as head-of-state, and more consistent in his investment in inter-tribal politics, especially with the Yamut-bal.

To buttress this hypothesis, it should be noted that there are more international correspondences with major kings extant that are datable to the final years of Zimri-Lim's reign than from earlier in his reign. That is, the vast majority of the extant letters from other major states date to the moment of the Elamite invasion. In fact, apart from only four examples of correspondences with Babylon, Yamhad, Qatna, Ešnunna and Elam,¹⁰² nearly all of the remaining international correspondences are best situated at the Elamite affair and its aftermath, between ZL 9–11.¹⁰³ This chronological distribution of the missives between Zimri-Lim and other major kings of the period might be judged counter-intuitive to an explanation that the Babylonian's intelligence-gathering mission was intended to collect precisely these types of letters. Thus it may be hypothesized that the distribution of international correspondences between Zimri-Lim and Babylon, Yamhad, Qatna, and Elam, which are better documented during the final years of Zimri-Lim's reign from the crisis of ZL 9–11,¹⁰⁴ may reflect an intensification in

¹⁰² Three of these correspondences are with the western kingdoms of Yamhad (e.g. TH 72.8+ [see Birot, "La lettre du Yarim-Lim," with the collations in Durand, *LAPO* 16 249; for the dating of the letter, see Guichard, "Šubartu," 129]) and Qatna (*ARM* 28.14–5). This might be considered congruent with Durand's hypothesis that Zimri-Lim had sought refuge in the west during the reign of Shamshi-Adad. Thus upon returning to Mari, he owed a particular debt to the sovereigns of these western polities that provided safe-haven, especially Yamhad. The one exception is the exceptional tablet published by Charpin ("Un traité entre Zimri-Lim de mari et Ibāl-pî-El II d'Ešnunna, 147–57).

¹⁰³ *ARM* 28.1, 2(?) , 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13(?), 16, 17, 181.

¹⁰⁴ One can add to the dossiers published by Kupper in *ARM* 28, the copious collection of communiqués from Ibal-pi-El, which document the collaboration of Mari and Babylon during the war with Elam. To my knowledge there is no comparable dossier that documents the interactions

Zimri-Lim's efforts to engage in king-based international politics. This increase in international communiqués with major kings of the period, then, would have been the consequence of the breakdown in Zimri-Lim's inter-tribal connections. If this is the case, then, the missives that would have been the most valuable for the Babylonian mission to Mari, one might speculate, were those from the final twelve to eighteen months of Zimri-Lim's reign. And, in fact, the end of Zimri-Lim's reign is very poorly understood. What is clear is that these final months of Zimri-Lim's reign gave way to a conflict with Babylon and that this conflict extended for nearly two years after Zimri-Lim's demise, for Hammu-rabi records his decimation of the city two years after his initial capture of it. It may have been the letters that offered insight into this resistance that were the target of the Babylonian intelligence-gathering mission, and perhaps the end of Zimri-Lim's reign is so poorly known due to the Babylonian selective sifting of these sources from Mari.

of a Mariote official in the royal court of a foreign polity from earlier in Zimri-Lim's reign.

CONCLUSION

Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand.

—Karl Marx¹

[S]ocieties of all types normally exist in inter-societal systems, such that what happens ‘internally’ is influenced by what happens ‘externally’....

—Anthony Giddens²

The quantum-level historical episodes treated in chapters four and five will now be considered in relation to larger macro-level questions of social and historical change. An important basis for historical change in complex societies has been conceptualized by Anthony Giddens, in his model of inter-societal systems. According to Giddens, inter-societal systems were comprised of two or more modes of social organizations such as tribal, class-divided, capitalist, and state-socialist societies.³ While utilizing these traditional categories of social organization, Giddens nevertheless resists any procrustean evolutionary scheme for ranking these groups. Rather, for Giddens, evolutionary frameworks, as they were discussed in chapter two, are rejected in part because they “regard a society as an isolated unit, and as containing within itself the mechanisms that

¹ Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 9.

² *Constitution of Society*, 166.

³ *Ibid.*, 180-182.

bring about its transformation.”⁴ Giddens’s idea of inter-societal systems instead targets the ways in which these various forms of social organizations were connected and dialectically interacted with one another. Thus on the one hand, Giddens maintains that within inter-societal systems the two or more types of social organization “... can be distinguished [yet]... can overlap or co-exist with the others...,”⁵ they “... ‘stand out’ in bas-relief from a background of a range of other systemic relationships in which they are embedded.”⁶ On the other hand, he highlights that modes of social organization, such as tribal or state-based, do not exist as discrete or bounded realities but rather are always entangled and enmeshed with one another.

As it relates to the history of Zimri-Lim’s reign, the two forms of socio-political action negotiated by Zimri-Lim, namely those of state and tribal politics, may be thought of as an example of what Giddens has called inter-societal systems. In this case, Zimri-Lim himself was a crucial connection between these two types of socio-politics as he uniquely configured the dynamics of these inter-societal systems. He confederated diverse populations as a head-of-state while functioning as a powerful ruler and representative of his tribe, the Simal. At times Zimri-Lim acted on the basis of his civic identity as the representative of state interests, especially within the king-based system for international politics. In other instances he foregrounded his tribal membership with the Simal, for example, when he was negotiating international politics among tribal populations. Thus Zimri-Lim’s conduct of politics significantly structured the inter-societal systems through his conduct of domestic and international politics in Syro-Mesopotamia.

Giddens, however, developed the concept of inter-societal systems to aid not only in the description of social phenomena but

⁴ Giddens, *Contemporary Critique*, 23. Giddens develops the idea of inter-societal systems from the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (*The Modern World-System*), though Giddens is, in part, interested in fashioning his model so that it was suitable for pre-modern societies as well, something Wallerstein did not address (Giddens, *Contemporary Critique*, 197-8).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

also in the explanation of historical events. Inter-societal systems focus attention on the question of "... potential or actual social transformation, [at] the often unstable intersections between different modes of societal organisation."⁷ Inter-societal systems, as Giddens explains, implicitly beg historical questions about the co-operation and/or tension that exists between various forms of social organization. For the history of Zimri-Lim's reign, Giddens's model of inter-societal systems frames historical questions about how state-based and tribal politics constrained and/or catalyzed one another and how these interactions precipitated change. It calls attention to the dynamic connections between state and tribal political action, especially as they intersected in Zimri-Lim's conduct of international politics. Zimri-Lim combined his role as head-of-state as well as his role as a tribal leader in such a way that they created a political authority that existed in a fragile balance. And, as has been demonstrated, Zimri-Lim's political decisions in international politics harnessed the dynamics of an inter-societal system in such a way that his political authority relied more heavily on his role as a tribal leader.

Giddens's models of complex social phenomena are compatible with observations from complexity theorists. Complexity theory has focused on systems in the material world that are characterized by their persistence in a delicate and complexly achieved equilibrium. These critically organized systems, however, are affected by the interactions between agents within the system and, as a result, often yield to moments of significant disruption, disorder, or chaos as a result of a single disturbance.⁸ In geology, biology, and other sciences, numerous critically organized realities have been studied—from earthquakes to fractals. The textbook illustration, however, of a critically organized state is the sand pile. In this instance, the grains of sand, each as individual yet inter-related agents, exhibit momentary equilibrium. At the same time, however, there is always

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See, for example, Bak, et. al., "Self-Organized Criticality;" Bak, *How Nature Works*. For the application of the theory of self-organized criticality to state formation in ancient the ancient Near East, see Alizadeh, *Chagha Bonut*, 8-12.

potential for drastic change, represented by an avalanche, should even a single grain move.⁹ Giddens's theory of inter-societal systems describes a complex human system akin to other critically organized systems in the natural world. It includes diverse parts that have a distinct organizational pattern, or state of being, that nevertheless existed on the edge of chaos.

Returning to the social and politic history narrated in chapters three, four, and five, the diverse landscape of Zimri-Lim's reign was a complex system of varying substance patterns and dynamic socio-political interactions between state and tribal interests. Zimri-Lim sought to bring stability to this system, in particular in the region of the upper Jezira, through his navigation of two forms of political action, tribal and state-based, in international politics. The Mariote king attempted to harness the dynamics of this inter-societal system, negotiating international politics on the basis of his civic identity as head-of-state as well as by his tribal leadership among the Siml. The criticality of Zimri-Lim's situation was revealed when the Elamites advanced into the upper Jezira and dislodged one of Zimri-Lim's crucial organizing forces—the Yamut-bal. This, in effect, sufficiently disrupted the inter-societal system that Zimri-Lim had managed and precipitated an 'avalanche-effect' that eventually resulted in the dramatic historical change represented by Hammu-rabi's 'empire.'

Hammu-rabi's ascent, however, did not necessarily usher in an era lacking the dimensions of tribal politics. An inter-societal system of state-based and tribal politics no doubt continued to exist after Zimri-Lim passed from the historical scene. We know, for example, that the genealogy of Hammu-rabi's dynasty included the Numha.¹⁰ Furthermore, Hammu-rabi adopted the titulature 'king

⁹ Per Bak, the theoretical physicist who helped fashion the idea of self-organized criticality, compared the example of systems that exist in equilibrium, such as sand at a flat beach. As he explains, it exists in equilibrium because the individual components of this system are insignificant for the macroscopic nature of the system as a whole. That is, if one grain is moved it has virtually no implications for the system, itself.

¹⁰ Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty."

of all the Amurrite land¹¹ after his defeat of Mari. And elsewhere in Syro-Mesopotamia, the former regions under the control of Larsa bore the designation Yamut-bal under the new Babylonian administration.¹² Whereas in the north the tell al-Rimah letters of Iltani reveal that the tribal populations of this region continued to play some role in the refashioned political order under Hammurabi of Babylon. Thus even for the newly-organized empire of Babylon, the sporadic documentation for Syro-Mesopotamia is clear that state-based and tribal politics continued to shape the political realities in the decades that followed Zimri-Lim's reign. Yet the new system must have operated in a very different way than it had under Zimri-Lim and precisely how this subsequent inter-societal system was reconfigured awaits further research.

¹¹ The evolution in the titlature of Hammurabi was already noted by Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, 32–33.

¹² See, for example, *AbB* 9.134, 191; 13.17.

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INDEX

- Abattum, 91, 157
 Abdi-Ashirta, 112
 Abdi-Heba, 112
 Abu Kalb tribe, 89–90
 Adal-sheni, 97, 128, 130
 Adami, 96
ab Purattim, 57, 62–70, 72–73,
 76, 92–93, 95, 99, 156–
 158, 179, 209, 218
 Akatiya (wife of Shamshi-Adad),
 125
 Akin-Amar, 122–127, 131, 140–
 141, 166
 Akkadian (used in Mari letters),
 19–20, 77, 143, 208
akkadum, 194–196
 Alalakh, 145–146
 Aleppo, 58, 60, 114, 145, 202
 Amarna Letters, 111–113
 Amnanum (Yamina subgroup),
 76
 Amurrite(s), 9, 91, 188–189,
 193–199, 205–206, 208,
 210–212, 215–218, 221,
 228, 239
amurru, 77, 193–197, 203, 228
 Andarig, 52–53, 84–85, 106,
 134–135, 138, 169–170,
 172, 175–176, 180–183,
 202, 223, 225, 227
 Aparha, 84
 Apum, 99–106, 115, 164, 167,
 169, 175, 177, 181
 Arameans, 45
 Asharugayum (Simal subgroup),
 76
 Ashlakka, 21, 98, 109, 111, 118–
 119, 122, 128–130, 132,
 134–138, 140–141, 171,
 175–176, 185–186
 Ashnakkum, 97–98, 128, 133–
 136, 165, 202, 230
 Ashur, 85
 Ashushik (city of), 50, 131
 Asqudum (diviner at Mari), 51,
 72, 93–95, 170
 Assur (god), 13–14
 Atamrum, 104, 106, 134–135,
 138, 141, 201–204, 218,
 220, 223, 225, 227
 Atrakatum, 157, 174
 Attaya, 126–127, 141
 Babylon, 18, 61, 114, 118, 138,
 151, 188, 198–202, 219–
 222, 224, 227, 231–233,
 239
 Bahdi-Lim, 196, 207, 220–222
 Balih River, 80
 Bannum (Simal tribal leader),
 51, 67, 83–84, 91–95, 108,
 169, 174
 Bedouin (modern), 77–79
 Belshunu, 94–95
 Bunu-Eshtar, 122, 126, 131,
 133, 140, 165–169, 174–
 178
 Calah, 2
 Caliph Muawiya, 89–90
 canals (navigation), 57–58, 72

- Dabish, 146–153, 155–156
 Damascus, 89–90
 Der, 57, 79–81, 125, 137, 160–161, 165–166, 174, 191, 201, 222
 Dur Sharrukin, 2, 60
 Dur Yahdun-Lim (Deir el Zor), 57–58, 62–64
 Early Bronze Age, 80, 193
 Egypt, 6, 193
 Ekallatean, 93
 Elam, 7, 17, 21, 74, 114–115, 133–134, 137–138, 186–189, 191, 193, 195, 197–203, 205–209, 211, 213–221, 224–229, 231–233
 Elamites, 22, 45, 53, 121, 126, 134–135, 141, 186–189, 198–202, 205–208, 210–223, 225, 227–228, 232, 238
 Emar, 57
 Enlil-ipush, 93–95
Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 15, 17
 Eridu, 53
Erra and Ishum Epic, 70–72
 Eshnunna, 61, 98, 114, 116, 118, 121–123, 126, 128, 131, 133–135, 140, 142, 157, 161, 163–164, 166–167, 171, 174–175, 177, 179–184, 186, 198–202, 208, 215–218, 220–221, 223–226, 230–232
 Ethiopians, 45
 Euphrates River, 57–58, 61, 69, 80, 90, 205, 212, 214
 Euphrates River Valley, 8, 10, 52, 56–58, 61–70, 72, 74–77, 90–91, 95, 107–108, 129, 157
 Feast of Eshtar, 113, 125, 174
gayûm, 76, 103, 148
 Gilgamesh Epic, 12
 Greece (Ancient), 6, 19
 Habur (triangle), 80, 89, 98, 100, 75, 77, 78, 115, 120–121, 126, 134, 163, 165, 177, 202–205, 208, 217–218, 220, 223, 225–227
 Habur basin, 56, 58, 120
 Habur River, 22, 58, 68–69, 76, 89–90, 98, 99, 116, 118, 120–121, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130–135, 139, 141, 158, 168, 171, 175, 178–181, 185, 201–202, 207–208, 214–215, 218–219, 222, 226–228
 Hadnu-Amurru, 131–132, 137–138
 Hali-Hadnu, 171–172, 176–177
ḫalsum, 68–70, 85–86, 89, 108, 176
 Hammi-Ishtamar, 205–208, 212, 218, 222
 Hammu-rabi (of Aleppo), 9
 Hammu-rabi (of Babylon), 17–18, 22, 52–53, 60, 82, 118–119, 141, 198–201, 208, 210, 216, 219–221, 224, 226–229, 231, 233, 239
 Hammu-rabi (of Kurda), 105–107, 140–141, 175, 224, 226
 Hana, 67, 172
ḫanûm, 69–72, 81–85, 88–91, 98–100, 102–105, 107–108, 120, 128, 142, 144, 152–153, 196, 203–204
ḫāpirû (*ḫāpirum*), 50, 112
 Haya-Sumu, 100–106, 115–116, 123, 126–127, 141, 164, 167, 208
 Hazakkanum, 122–124, 126, 140
 Herodotus, 2, 19

- bipšum*, 134, 142–146, 148–149,
 152–153, 156, 160, 170–
 173, 176–178, 185, 204
 Hiritum, 134, 141, 223
 Hishamta, 94, 97
 horizontal pastoralism, 75
 Huzirum, 123, 126, 140–141
 Ibal-Addu (king of Ashlakka),
 21, 50, 110–111, 118–119,
 128–140, 167, 185–187,
 202
 Ibal-El, 77–78, 98, 136, 202–
 204, 218
 Ibal-pi-El (Simal tribal leader),
 52, 72–73, 98–99, 121–
 122, 142, 165, 167, 181,
 217, 232
 Ida-Maras, 21, 43, 50, 77–78,
 80, 96, 98–99, 109, 117,
 120, 128, 135–136, 138,
 140, 144, 165–168, 176,
 203204, 218
 Iddin-Ilum, 60
 Ilan-sura, 11, 100, 113, 115–116,
 123, 126, 164
 Ili-Addu, 101–102
 Ili-Eshtar, 101–107
 Ilisum, 88
 Inanna, 15
 Inib-sharri (daughter of Zimri-
 Lim), 128–129, 136–138,
 140
 Iran, 6, 10, 73, 75, 87, 187–188,
 223
 Iraq, 1, 10
 Ishar-Lim (king), 67
 Ishme-Addu, 128, 133, 135,
 141, 230
 Ishme-Dagan, 64, 93, 105–106,
 121, 124–125, 135–136,
 194, 224–226
 Ishtup-Ilum, 60
 Isqa, 88, 116, 126
 Israel and Palestine, 10, 19, 59
ištu šitim, 153–156
 Iter-Mur, 125, 152, 194
 Itur-Asdu (Governor of Nahur),
 50, 114, 118–119, 123,
 137, 147
 Izallu, 132, 137
 Jaghjagh River, 78, 115, 120
 Jebel Sinjar, 76, 163
 Jezira, 7, 8, 12, 53, 57–58, 72,
 74, 76, 80–81, 90, 95–99,
 108, 117–118, 139, 156,
 158, 166, 173, 178–179,
 185, 201, 204–205, 207,
 219–221, 228, 238
 Kabiya (king of Kahat), 21,
 109–111, 118–127, 129,
 131, 139–141, 185–187
 Kahat, 98, 120–122, 125, 127–
 128, 140–141
kaltum, 122, 131–133, 137
 Kiduh, 101, 105
 Kiduhhum, 105, 106
 Kingdom of Upper Mesopota-
 mia, 84, 100, 106, 121,
 130, 159, 162, 164, 186
 Kirru, 105–106, 116
 Kunnam, 207, 221, 219
 Kurda, 52, 84–85, 105–106, 122,
 135, 140–141, 159–161,
 165–168, 170, 174–177,
 183–184, 197, 224–226
 Kuwait, 10
 Labayu, 112
 Larim-Numha, 84
 Larsa, 17, 85, 114, 141, 199–
 200, 224, 226–227
 Lashkan, 60
 Lower Yamut-bal (Emut-bal),
 84–85
 Lugal-Zagesi (king of Unug), 17,
 191
 Lupahum, 175, 217
 Manahatum salt mines, 80

- Mari, 7–12, 14, 17–23, 26, 30,
 34–35, 41, 43–45, 47, 50–
 53, 55–57, 76, 79–82, 84,
 87–92
consolidation of 68–71
founding of, 57–68
palace at, 9, 58–61, 67, 131,
 229–230
tribes as actors, 43–53
 Mashkan-shapir, 85, 188, 227
mārum, 43, 66, 81, 88, 98–99,
 103, 108, 214
merbūm, 18, 52, 72–74, 77–78,
 83, 91–92, 95–96, 98–99,
 108, 136, 142, 161, 165,
 169, 171, 174, 203, 218
 Mesopotamia, 6, 8, 19, 22–23,
 27, 36, 80, 84, 89–90, 96,
 167, 188, 191, 193–194,
 197, 223, 228
 Middle Bronze Age, 9, 80, 193,
 197
 Mishlan, 91, 157–158, 174
 Muzu-Lim, 88
 Naram-Sin (Akkadian king), 58–
 59, 150
 Nergal (god), 65, 154–155
nighum (*pl. nighi*), 76–81, 85, 87–
 89, 98–99, 108, 145, 165,
 176, 203–204
 Nihadum, 148, 152
 Numha tribe, 52, 83–85, 92, 99,
 106, 122, 135, 144, 150,
 156, 158–162, 165–170,
 174–177, 181–185, 197,
 225, 238
 Old Babylonian Period (Amur-
 rite Age), 5, 9, 15–16, 35
 orientalism, 2–3, 5
 Orontes River Valley, 58
 pastoralist-sedentary relations,
 72, 74, 85–87, 91, 93, 95–
 98, 100, 152–153, 204
 Qa'a, 88
 Qarni-Lim, 123, 135, 140, 163,
 166–171, 175–184, 202,
 219–221
 Qatna, 76–77, 203, 232
 Qattara (Wadi Tharthar), 84–85,
 166–167
 Qattunan, 68, 89, 120, 167, 181
 Rabbum (Yamina subgroup), 76
 Razama, 167, 202–203, 220
 Rib-Addi, 112
riḫum, 142, 144, 152
 Rim-Sin of Larsa, 17, 199–200,
 224, 226
rimmatum, 208–209, 212
 Ripi'i-Dagan, 124, 194–196
 Saggaratum, 57, 68, 76, 147,
 175, 208, 218, 221
 Samanum, 91, 151, 157–158,
 174, 205, 230
 Samiya, 163–164
 Sammetar, 138, 146–147, 151,
 166–167, 176, 202
šapiṭum, 18, 68, 101, 146, 181
 Sargon (cupbearer), 16–17
Sargon and Ur-Zababa, 16–17
 Sargon II, 60
Sargon of Assyria, 13–14
šarru, 19, 59, 61, 66, 69, 110
 Sarum, 50
 Sasiya, 175, 178–180
 Sassanians, 45, 78
šepātum-exchange, 75, 96–98
 Shadum-Adal, 128, 130
 Shamash Temple, 62
 Shamshi-Adad, 9–10, 64–66, 88,
 100, 106, 120, 125, 129,
 159–160, 163, 230, 232
 Shemiya, 57
 Shimatum, 115, 164
 Shu-nuhra-halu, 145, 215
 Shub-ram, 100–107, 135–136,
 166–167, 202
 Shubartum, 96, 118–119, 215,
 223

- Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan), 65,
100–101, 106, 116, 120,
163–165, 168–169, 174–
175, 177–179, 181–184,
207, 219, 221
- Shuna, 101–103, 105
- Shunhum (city), 101–102, 104,
106
- Silli-Sin, 224–226
- Simah-Ilani (Simah-Ilu), 84,
160–164, 168, 170, 174
- Simal tribe, 7, 44, 48, 50, 52, 69,
71–74, 76–86, 91, 93–100,
103–104, 107–108, 110–
111, 120, 128, 134, 144–
149, 151–153, 155–163,
165, 167–178, 181–182,
184–185, 187, 198, 202–
205, 212–214, 218, 227,
236, 238
- Sinjar (region), 56, 84–85, 92,
122, 126, 135, 158, 166,
171, 176, 178–181, 185,
202, 218, 223, 225, 227
- Siwa-Palar-Huhpak, 219
- Sukkal of Elam, 17, 115, 134,
188–189, 198–201, 208,
219–221, 223–224
- Sumer, 15–16, 191, 195
- Sumu-Dabi, 157, 174, 230
- Sumu-Lanasi, 88–89, 176
- Sumu-Yamum, 9
- Suprum, 57, 61
- Susa, 100–101, 135–136
- Syria, 1, 6, 8, 57–58, 78, 89–90,
193–194, 202
- Syro-Mesopotamia, 1–2, 5–6, 8,
10–14, 20, 24, 26, 30, 35–
36, 39, 42, 48, 50–51, 58,
66, 75, 79–80, 83, 89, 110–
111, 144, 156, 188, 191,
193, 198, 210, 213, 228,
236, 239
- Taadum, 101
- Tadmert (Palmyra), 58
- Talhayum, 132–133, 165–167,
171, 174
- Tehum-Adal, 105
- Tel Hariri, 8, 229
- Tell Banat, 80
- Tell Cheura, 80
- Terqa (Tell Ashara), 57–58, 63–
65, 67–68, 76, 90, 129,
140, 146, 205, 208, 219
- the state (in the ancient world),
24, 26–31, 33, 35, 39–43,
45, 52–53, 56, 59, 86, 110–
111, 190
- the state (Marxist and Neo-
Marxist), 31–33
- the state (Neo-Institutionalist),
32–33
- the state (Pluralist), 31–33, 110
- the state (Weberian), 34–42
- theory of social evolution, 3–4,
27–28
- Tigris River, 58, 65, 80, 84, 163,
166, 200–201, 215, 223–
225
- Tukulti-Mer (king), 67–68
- Turukku, 71, 178–180
- Turum-Natki, 164, 175, 177,
184
- Tuttul, 53, 62, 67, 91, 142, 157
- Ugarit, 9, 60, 113
- Upper Yamut-bal, 84–85
- Urapum (Yamina subgroup),
76
- Ur, 53, 187–188
- Ur III Period, 15–16, 187, 194–
195, 197
- Ur-Zababa (king of Kish), 16–
17
- Uranum, 146–147, 149–153,
155, 156
- Urapu, 71
- Urtutu, 13
- Uruk culture, 8

- vertical pastoralism, 75
 Yabasu (Simal subgroup), 76,
 99–104
 Yag(g)id-Lim (king), 67
 Yahdun-Lim, 9–10, 59–66, 82,
 85, 94, 107–108, 120, 129–
 130, 138, 159–160, 162,
 165, 229
 Yahrurum (Yamina subgroup),
 76
 Yamhad, 76–77, 145, 200, 203,
 207, 219–220, 231, 232
 Yamina tribe, 44, 48–49, 64, 69–
 71, 76–78, 83–84, 86, 91,
 108, 144–148, 150, 152–
 153, 156, 158–159, 162,
 165, 173, 185, 204, 212–
 214, 218
 Yaminite Revolt(s), 140, 146–
 147, 157–163, 165, 168–
 169, 174–176, 181, 183–
 185, 208, 230
 Yamir-Addu, 142, 198–200, 202
 Yarnus-El, 116, 141
 Yamsi-Hadnu, 92
 Yamut-bal tribe, 22, 49, 52, 83–
 85, 92, 106, 111, 134–135,
 144, 156, 158–160, 167–
 173, 175–187, 198, 202,
 219–220, 223, 225–228,
 232, 238–239
 Yaphur-Lim, 132–133, 137
 Yarih (Yamina subgroup), 76,
 88
 Yarkab-Addu, 171–172
 Yasmah-Addu, 9, 59, 64–66, 68,
 92–93, 124–125, 147, 154–
 155, 194, 229
 Yassi-Dagan, 165, 168, 178–
 180, 183, 201
 Yawa-Ili, 165–166
 Zakku, 102
 Zakura-Abum, 95–99, 131–133,
 137–138, 167
 Zalluhan, 96–99, 131, 137–138
 Zalmaqum, 80, 84, 96, 142, 160,
 166, 171
 Zimri-Addu, 68
 Zimri-Lim, 7, 10–12, 15, 18–23,
 26, 30, 34, 41–44, 51–53,
 55–61, 65–79, 81–101
 accession to throne, 84, 93,
 129–130, 159, 194
 letters, 10, 18, 22, 57, 67,
 77, 82, 90–92, 99–
 100, 104, 107, 114–
 115, 118, 121, 123–
 124, 127, 129–130,
 137, 146–147, 161–
 162, 164–169, 180–
 184, 194, 196–199,
 202–203, 205–208,
 212–213, 220–222,
 229–233
 relations with Hammu-rabi of
 Babylon, 18, 22, 52–
 53, 60, 82, 118–119,
 141, 198–201, 208,
 210, 216, 219–221,
 225–233, 238–239
 status with other rulers, 115–
 121, 125–127, 129–
 133, 135–136, 139,
 162, 174, 183–184,
 200
 the mobile pastoralists, 70–76,
 81–84, 86–92, 95–97,
 99
 the Second Yamina Revolt,
 116, 140, 146–147,
 157–160, 163, 165,
 167, 168–169, 175–
 176, 181, 184, 228
 tribal relations, 7, 21, 44,
 52–53, 74, 76, 83, 94,
 107, 110–111, 127,
 134–135, 139, 142,
 146–147, 156, 159–

- 160, 162, 169–170,
176, 180, 183–186,
205, 218, 226, 236
war with Elam, 121, 133–
134, 137–138, 186–
188, 197–198, 205–
208, 215–219, 225–
228, 232